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Clement of Alexandria



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Clement of Alexandria

Francis Ryan

BY

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MODERATOR AND GOLD MEDALLIST IN MODERN LITERATURE; FIRST
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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

PART I

CHAPTER I

CLEMENT'S HOME ; THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ITS PRINCIPAL FEATURES

“ Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandria supplex
Et vacuum patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustris prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.”

HOR., *Od.*, iv. 14.

THE life and work of Clement of Alexandria could not, perhaps, be more favourably introduced to the notice of our readers than by a brief account of the historic city in which that life was lived and that work was done, and a general summary of the various influences that helped to mould and develop the character and genius of the man.

The city was founded by the great Alexander whose name it bore. Having crushed the Persian power

for ever on the plains of Issus, 333 B.C., the Macedonian conqueror had paused for a short breathing-space in his career of victory to settle affairs in Palestine and Egypt. During this period of rest he founded Alexandria, an extensive and regular city, built on a beautiful and commodious site, and destined to become the great emporium of the East.

On the north side its walls were washed by the blue waves of the Mediterranean, while the fine lake Mareotis formed its boundary on the south. The city, moreover, had the advantage of possessing two harbours, one facing the north-east and the other the south-west, so that it was possible for ships to sail in and out in all weathers, and was also connected with the interior of the country by a large canal.

Thus Alexandria was admirably situated for commerce; and as a large proportion of its inhabitants consisted of enterprising Jews and Greeks, it soon came to the front in the trade of the world. It has been said that the East and West met together in this centre to buy and sell and get gain. It was no wonder then, considering its great natural advantages, that the city very rapidly assumed vast proportions, covering in its prosperous days as much ground as modern Paris, registering nearly half-a-million free citizens,¹ and having at its disposal more capital even than Rome.

¹ Diodorus, who visited the city 60 A.D., informs us that the registers showed a population of 300,000 free citizens, and that there were as many slaves.

In the days of the Empire, it was the corn-export from this great sea-port that supplied the Roman granaries; so much so, that many a time the Imperial city lay at the mercy of the Prefect of Egypt, who might easily have starved it out, by detaining the corn-fleet in the harbours of Alexandria; a fact which helps us to appreciate the charge so frequently made against Athanasius of conspiring to delay the corn from Africa.

In spite of all this wealth and influence, Alexandria could not have been called a beautiful city. The climate was mild, being tempered by the fresh Etesian breezes from the sea. And the buildings were handsome and massive, conspicuous among them being the synagogue of the Jews, the colossal Temple of Serapis, the extensive museum containing the famous library founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, with adjacent parks for foreign animals, the Botanical Gardens, and the Observatory, from which the great Eratosthenes calculated the orbits of the planets. But there was little variety of shadow and sunlight, and there were no mountains to relieve the dull monotony of the unchanging coast-line. The city itself, however, was nobly planned. As one approached its southern gate, which was called the Moon Gate,¹ there was a fine view of the limpid lake Mareotis, with its ferry-boats, barges,

¹ A fine description of Alexandria in the second century A.D. is to be found in the love story *Clitipho and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius, in which the splendour, extent, and population of the city are described in glowing language.

and winged Egyptian craft plying backwards and forwards between the city and the interior of the country ; while the busy scene on the quays, where the stately Roman galleys were being laden with corn by a motley crowd of Copts, Nubians, Greeks, and Jews, lent a certain interest and animation to the outlook.

Leaving behind him this Babel of tongues and bustling confusion, the visitor would arrive at the Moon Gate, and passing beneath its noble portal would enter the spacious streets of this great world-city. For, indeed, it was a world in miniature, being cosmopolitan in every respect. Men and women of every colour, condition, religion, and phase of thought might be seen on each side—a pleasing contrast to the uniformity of the city.

One great street ran from the south gate to the northern, flanked on either side by spacious colonnades—a special feature of this town—which afforded a pleasant promenade to the citizens in the hot weather, when they could enjoy the pleasure of a country stroll in the very heart of the city.¹ It were easy to imagine the picturesque effect of the scene at night in those broad porticoes, when the torches carried hither and thither by the votaries of religion or pleasure flashed in the darkness like broken gleams of another sun, as their own poet has described it,² and made the lofty arches yet more vast ; while on either

¹ ἔνδομος ἀποδημία (Achilles Tatius, Book V.).

² ἥλιος κατακερματίζων (*ibid.*).

hand noble edifices, temples, synagogues, churches, palaces, and towers towered aloft.

The great shadowy mass that rose high above the roofs of the city buildings into the bosom of the sky was the superb Temple of Serapis, the God of Pontus, carried from Sinope by the first Ptolemy to share the majesty of Isis. This mighty structure, celebrated by Ammianus and Rufinus as one of the wonders of the world, erected on a basis a hundred feet high, and surrounded by a quadrangular portico that rested on four hundred monolithic columns—one of which alone remains the solitary guardian of past glories—was no mean rival of the grandeur of the Roman Capitol. Within its stately halls, in Clement's day, were preserved rare treasures of gold and silver, and yet more precious than all these—a valuable library.¹

¹ Two centuries later, 391 A.D., this building was ruthlessly destroyed by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, and the Christians, in a fray with the votaries of Serapis, and the gigantic image of Serapis shared the fate of his magnificent shrine. For a time, indeed, the people were held back from destroying it by an old tradition, that if the image were treated with impiety, the heaven and the earth would return to their primeval chaos. At last the sentiment *fiat justitia, ruat cælum* prevailed, and a soldier placing a ladder against the huge statue, mounted it, and reaching the top of the sitting idol smote heavily upon its bronze cheek with a battle-axe, and shivered it to pieces. And while the crowd below were expecting a sudden thunderstorm to break over their unhappy heads, the intrepid soldier continued to hammer until he laid the colossal image even with the dust. Thereupon a great swarm of rats issued from its gloomy recesses, and the spectators expressed their contempt for the idol

Passing by this magnificent edifice, which was still standing in all its glory in the second century, and advancing still further up the main street, one came to a great open space, or piazza, formed by the intersection of the two principal thoroughfares of the city, and named *Alexander's Place* after the great conqueror (Achilles Tatius). From this point, the so-called Omphalos of the city, the great seaport could be seen to its best advantage. Still proceeding in the shelter of the cloisters, after an hour's walk one stood beneath the grand arch of the Gate of the Sun, and gazed upon the deep-blue waves of the great midland sea, sparkling in the rays of the sun and studded with the white sails of myriads of galleys. Yonder out to sea, by the left horn of the crescent-shaped harbour, stood the tall white tower of Pharos,¹ the ancient lighthouse, on its own

whose power they had secretly dreaded, and the frauds of whose ministers were at last revealed. It is a pity that the fury of the populace did not spare the noble library which contained so many valuable manuscripts and collections of art and literature.

¹ Besides being of great height, and raised on a marvellous substructure (magnâ altitudine, mirificis operibus exstructa, Cæs. B.C. 3, 112), this tower possessed great historic interest from having been intimately connected some two centuries previous with the fortunes of Julius Cæsar. In the year 59 B.C. Cæsar landed with a small force in Alexandria to levy money and supplies on the Egyptians. But the townfolk, encouraged by the smallness of his escort, besieged him in the palace by the harbour. In this building Cæsar sought to entrench himself, and at the same time to maintain communication with

island, connected by moat and drawbridge with the pier; while on the right side of the harbour, as one faced the sea, the Cæsareum, formerly a temple, in Clement's day a church, rose in view, guarded by two tall obelisks, similar to that now standing on the Thames Embankment, which in Egyptian fashion stood sentinel before the sanctuary of Isis. Alongside this building was a great high-walled enclosure, the Bruchium, the royal quarter. Within these precincts lay the palaces of the Ptolemies, and the world-renowned Museum (University), with its statues, pillars, and frescoes, the wonder of the world. But, alas! the famous library, founded by Ptolemy Soter on the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, was no more. It had been completely destroyed during the siege of the city by Cæsar.¹ Clement, however, had the advantage of being able to study in the library of the Serapeum, the nucleus of which consisted of some 500,000 volumes, which Antony had sent as a present to Cleopatra from Pergamum.

It was within the walls of the Bruchium that that

the sea by the lighthouse pier. In the latter project he failed, for the pier was captured by the Egyptians, and was only recovered after a desperate struggle, in which the Romans were repulsed again and again, and Cæsar was nearly drowned, being thrown into the sea. A few days later Cæsar was relieved, and enabled, by fetching a compass, to join his forces with the relieving army on the Lake Mareotis.

¹ Vide Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. p. 255.

ill-starred general and the fickle Queen of the Nile celebrated their premature triumph over Parthia and the world.

These are some of the interesting facts that are known of this proud metropolis of kings and illustrious home of scholars. Such were the surroundings of the obscure life of the retiring teacher of Alexandria. Within those city walls his placid days were spent; and in the shadow of those colonnades the gentle student often paced the marble pavement, and turned his thoughtful, tearful eyes to gaze upon the proud relics of a not inglorious past.

CHAPTER II

CLEMENT'S HOME AND ITS VARYING FORTUNES

IN this chapter we shall say something of the opulence of the city and the character of its citizens. Alexandria certainly occupied the place of Athens in intellectual life, but in its magnificence and luxury, in its marts, bazaars, processions, and troops of slaves, it reminded one of an Oriental capital. Under the Ptolemies the monarchy of Egypt was restored, and the fine arts flourished under the most generous of patrons.

In the pages of Athenæus one reads a very interesting account of the coronation feast of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in whose praise Theocritus composed his seventeenth idyll. In the inner pavilion, where the king sat enthroned (the historian informs us), a sumptuous repast was spread under awnings of scarlet, richly light, suspended from pillars stately as the palm. Under these hangings one hundred and thirty-five couches of beautiful and costly workmanship were placed for the guests of the royal party; while on

the silken tapestry that draped the walls with its folds of silver and gold, were inwoven the adventures of the gods. Above this ran a frieze of gold and silver shields, in the niches of which were placed in half-relief comic, tragic, and satyric groups. The ground, although the season was midwinter, was literally strewn with roses; while around the pavilion stood a hundred marble effigies, to say nothing of the untold wealth of flagons, vases, jewelled vessels, and precious metals that were displayed in lavish profusion. The masquerade commenced with a procession of the morning star Heosphorus, followed by a masque of kings and gods, satyrs, maidens, poets, Dionysus, and Mænads; while the company of the evening star, Hesperus, brought the show to an end. During this performance sixteen hundred waiters, clad in white, with ivy wreaths around their brows, handed around silver and golden cups of wine to the guests.

That exhibition, the magnificence of which almost beggars description, gives us some idea of the opulence of the city, which in after years brought in nearly £7,000,000 sterling in the way of revenue to the emperor's private purse.

The Copts, the native inhabitants, accustomed to be pampered with gifts and shows of such a nature, were, as might be expected, fickle, unruly, and dangerous. They frequently became embroiled in strife with the Jews, whose wealth excited their cupidity, and at such times the Delta, the Jewish quarter, literally ran



red with Hebrew blood. On several occasions tumults of a very terrible nature were enkindled, and by the most trivial causes: notably the civil war, which was caused in later years by a dispute between a soldier and a citizen about a pair of shoes, and which ended in the complete destruction of the Bruchium and its palaces.

Juvenal in his fifteenth satire—a poetical version of a village fight between Ombos (identified by Professor Petrie with Nubt-Ombos) and Tentyra—gives a gruesome account of the barbarous cruelty of the Egyptians, who deemed it a sacrilege to taste a leek, but would not abstain from eating raw human flesh when excited by faction fury. Theocritus likewise describes, in a manner that makes one's blood curdle, the Egyptian marauder lurking in a dark passage ready to pounce out upon the unsuspecting passer-by and throttle him. *παρέρπων Αἰγυπτιστί* (Theoc. xv. 48).

The Egyptians indeed do not bear an enviable reputation in the Greek and Latin classics. There are frequent comments on their dishonesty and secret violence, of which the following will suffice—

δεινοὶ πλέκειν τοὶ μηχανὰς Αἰγύπτιοι (*Æschy. frag.*).

Noxia Alexandria dolis aptissima tellus (*Propert. 4. 10. 33*).

Such was the general character of the populace of Alexandria, who were ever ready to take part in a street riot or a faction fight, but were entirely wanting in any true military spirit. "Imbelle vulgus" is Juvenal's accurate description of them. Still, they

were a very industrious people on the whole, both sexes being engaged in the different factories, where a brisk trade in glass-blowing, linen-weaving, and papyrus-making was carried on. In some of their ways the Egyptians presented a strange contrast to the habits of other nations. Herodotus tells us (2, 55) that their women buy and sell in the market, while the men sit at home plying the loom. Of this statement we find an echo in Soph. *Œd.* 335, where Œdipus, contrasting the faithful energy of his daughters with the selfish worthlessness of his sons, exclaims—

“Oh like in all things, both in nature’s bent
And mode of life, to Egypt’s evil ways,
Where men indoors sit weaving at the loom,
And wives outdoors must earn their daily bread.”¹

The modern town, called by the Turks Skanderieh, has very little traces of its former grandeur, except a column wrongly called Pompey’s Pillar. This, a monolithic block of red granite, about sixty-seven feet high and weighing about 276 tons, stands on a mound of earth some forty feet high. The capital and base are very rude and unfinished. A Greek inscription on the plinth shows that it was erected in honour of Diocletian by some prefect, of whose name only the two letters P O are legible.

Alexandria indeed fared ill when the fierce Arabs conquered the land. The ancient granary of Rome, the storied seat of philosophy and the early stronghold

¹ Translated by E. H. Plumptre.

of Christianity, it rapidly sank to the position of a third-rate city when the Fatimite caliphs built New Cairo (967). For many centuries it remained in that dishonoured state, until, in very recent times, the importance of its position, lying as it does directly on the route to India, has restored to the city something of its ancient prestige and trade. Thus it has again become the chief commercial town of Egypt. To it are conveyed from Cairo the principal products of the interior, cotton, coffee, linseed, wool, senna, rice, gum, feathers, hides, beans, and corn, by rail, river, and canal. During the past ninety years the city has made wonderful progress. When Napoleon made his celebrated campaign in Egypt, it consisted of nothing but a congeries of Arab huts, old ruins, and fortifications.

The modern town does not, however, occupy exactly the same site as the ancient home of Clement. It is built on the peninsula—once the mole or pier on which Cæsar was well-nigh killed—which connects the ancient isle of Pharos with the mainland. Thanks to the Etesian winds the climate is as salubrious as ever; but the Turkish quarter of the town, as one might expect, is a standing reproach to civilization.

Of the two harbours the western is the better, being protected by a line of reefs from the sea. It could, however, only be approached with great difficulty, until at length an English company constructed a breakwater and docks, and thus converted it into a safe port.

CHAPTER III

CLEMENT AND UNIVERSITY LIFE IN ALEXANDRIA

It was probably in the Museum,¹ the University of Alexandria, that the youthful Clement was educated. Here, under excellent tutors, the boy would read the famous Anthology, the turgid epic of Apollonius Rhodius, the didactic poem of Aratus on the weather, the Epigrams and the "Causes" (*Αἰτίαι*) of Callimachus, with its love story of Acontius and Cydippe (remarkable as being the first appearance of the sentimental romance in literature), and, above all, the sweet Bucolics and elaborate court poems of Theocritus.

These works formed the fashionable course of study at the time when Homer was regarded as commonplace, and the Greek drama was thought to be unnatural by the hypercritical and insipid mind of the day. With an egotism worthy of modern days, each president of the University, in his turn, sought to make his "forte" the "rage" of literary circles.

¹ *μουσεῖον* = abode of the Muses.

Under Callimachus the epigram became very popular among a certain class. Apollonius, who succeeded him, caused the bias of public opinion to turn in favour of the epic; while the rustic idyll of Theocritus carried the young students by storm, and caused many to aspire to the dignity of a Bucolic poet. Modern taste, however, has reversed the process, and restored the old classics to their proper place, thanks to the excellent judgment and indefatigable labours of the great Aristarchus, once librarian in this Museum.

During his University career, Clement also pursued some of the more solid, if less artistic, studies in science that had been founded by Euclid on geometry, Eratosthenes on geography, and Hipparchus on astronomy. These names are sufficient in themselves, that of Euclid being well known to every school-boy, for his weal or his woe, to show the importance of the science school at the Alexandrian University. It was, indeed, the most distinguished mathematical college in the world, and in Clement's day was appointed by the mutual consent of all the Churches to calculate the time at which the movable feast of Easter should be celebrated in each year.

We can easily believe that the average student trained in the wisdom of such great masters would, on the whole, be a more thoughtful and intelligent specimen than the ordinary pass-man, or even honour-man of the modern Universities.

The prominence of this Museum in the intellectual world was originally due to the great advantages, held out by the former kings of Egypt, to any scholar or student who would pursue his studies in the great library which Ptolemy had founded in his metropolis. This academy was founded on the principles of the schools in Athens, the precursors of all mediæval and modern universities and colleges.¹ We are informed that the foundation of Ptolemy contained a common hall, courts, cloisters, and gardens, and that it was under the presidency of a principal who was a priest, but whose religious duties were apparently confined to the formal cult of the Muses, a feature borrowed from the Academy at Athens.

In addition to this magnificent establishment there was also a Jewish school, in which the works of Philo, the Septuagint, and the books of Wisdom were carefully studied.

But there was now rising into fame a school destined to eclipse both these, the famous Catechetical School of the Christians, in which Pantaenus was the first to occupy the chair of Divinity; Clement, his pupil, was the second; and the famous Origen was the third.

With these literary and religious institutions, exercising an incalculable influence upon the life and tone of her citizens, Alexandria for many years flourished as a seat of learning and culture. However, its intellectual

¹ *Greek Life and Thought*, by Professor Mahaffy, p. 193.

life and lustre received a death-blow when Caliph Omar (early in the seventh century) sacked the city and burnt its books, saying that "they were useless if they agreed with the Koran, and also useless if they differed from it."

We are glad to say, that he did not succeed altogether in his infamous purpose, for one of the most valuable MSS. of the ancient library is now in the possession of the British Museum. It is called the Codex Alexandrinus, the manuscript of Alexandria. In the year 1628 Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of that diocese, sent as a present to Charles I. this MS., which contains the Septuagint almost complete, the whole of the New Testament with the exception of St. Matthew i.—xxv. 6; St. John vi. 50—viii. 52; and 2 Cor. iv. 13—xii. 6, and with the additional epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

This priceless treasure was deposited in the British Museum, 1753. It consists of four volumes of large quarto size, written on vellum in double columns, with usual capital letters without spaces and accents.¹

This ancient and valuable relic surely gives the British student an increased interest in the illustrious University of Alexandria and its noble libraries.

¹ This MS. of the New Testament is now regarded as one of the best extant. Dr. Scrivener places the date of the first hand that can be traced in it at the middle of the fifth century A.D.

CHAPTER IV

CLEMENT'S EARLY RELIGIOUS SURROUNDINGS AND THE COPTIC CHURCH

IN the early days of the Roman occupation, the natives of Egypt were devoted to the worship of Isis, Osiris, Serapis, and Anubis. And although, at first, the Romans were very much opposed to this form of religion, and demolished their temples by order of the Senate, so great a revulsion of feeling afterwards set in that in 43 B.C. the Triumvirs built a temple to Isis for public worship.

The worship of Isis became very fashionable in Rome on account of the licentious character of her festivals. And from the time of Vespasian she was an established Roman divinity. Domitian built the temples to her and Serapis in the Campus Martius.

But Isis was especially a goddess of the sea, as we may gather from the remark of Juvenal, which refers to a custom very much in vogue among Roman sailors—

“*Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci ?*”

Artists indeed carried on a lucrative trade with sailors, who were supposed to be under the protection

of Isis. When a sailor had a narrow escape from drowning, as soon as he got ashore he had a picture of the disaster painted and hung it up with the dripping garments in a temple of Neptune or Isis as a tribute-offering for his salvation.

This custom has been immortalized by the verses of Horace—

“ Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.”¹—HOR., *Car.*, iv. 15.

The story is told by Lucian that Zeus ordered Hermes to take Io across the seas to Egypt and make her into Isis, saying, “ Let her be a goddess of the country ; and let her be the dispenser of the winds and the saviour of the voyagers.” Thus it came to pass that Isis became the favourite deity of sailors. And so when Tibullus ventured on a sea-voyage, his beloved Delia made a vow to Isis, and the poet in the storm exclaimed—

“ Of what use is your Isis to me now, my Delia ? ”

Such was the ancient deity of those Copts who afterwards embraced Christianity in large numbers, and adhered to it through trial and persecution with their proverbial zeal and fury.

The monks and hermits and ascetics of Egypt were

¹ The sacred wall on which a tablet hangs
And vestments dripping from the brine,
These I have hung with supplication
An offering to strong Sea-God's shrine.

Copts, and always the most terrible champions of what they held to be the orthodox views. Antony, the founder of the monastic system, was the friend of Athanasius, the national hero, around whom the Anchorites rallied whenever his life or doctrine was assailed. In their caves and convents on the banks of the Nile, the great Coptic bishop, who stood alone against the world, ever found a secure retreat. On one occasion when he sought refuge among them, they came in their hundreds out of their cells to welcome him as a persecuted patriot, and he cried out in wonderment, "Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their cotes?" Then the abbot took the bridle of his ass, and by the light of a thousand torches, led him to their home in the sandy hills, where he was far beyond the reach of his persecutors.

Thus it was a strong national feeling which instigated the Copts to side with their national bishop against the Arians, who were essentially Greek. For Arius¹ the heresiarch himself had been a pupil in the school of Lucian of Antioch, which was famous for its grammatical and rationalistic exegesis of scripture. We may infer this from the fact that he addressed Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, in a letter preserved by Epiphanius as συλλουκιανίστης, himself fellow-

¹ Epiphanius speaks of him as a native of Libya, while Cave quotes Photius as authority for the statement that Arius was born in Alexandria. This, however, is but an inference from the letter of Constantine giving permission to the exiled heretic to return "to his own country," *i.e.* Alexandria (Socrates, *H. E.*).

pupil of Lucian. And in all their dissensions, riots, and schisms, they clung to their countryman with a wonderful tenacity. It was, indeed, a red-letter day in the annals of Alexandria, when the exiled bishop was allowed to return to his diocese for a time (346 A.D.). Then the people passed out in vast numbers to receive him, as he rode over the flower-strewn and carpeted streets, with such illuminations, acclamations, and festal rejoicings, that the saying, "It is like the day when the Pope Athanasius came home," passed into a proverb. The Christian Copts of to-day retain this old feud with the Greek Church. Indeed, it is said that the whole Nubian Church became Moslem rather than join the Church at Constantinople.

There is a great deal of truth in that saying. For the Copts were so exasperated by the canons of the Council of Chalcedon that they would never be reconciled with the heterodox adherents—as they considered them—of the Greek Church, and even preferred to fall into the hands of the Saracens. Indeed they hated the Greek Church and the Greek Empire of Byzantium so much, that they abjured the manners and language of the Greeks, refused to intermarry with them, and would not perform the commonest offices of humanity for them.

Yet we must not look on the Church of Egypt as only a remnant of the sect of Jacobites.¹ "It is the

¹ The members of this sect of the great Church of Syria which

only living representative" (writes Dean Stanley) "of the most venerable nation of all antiquity." It contains, he asserts, all that is left of the lore and lineage of Egypt. And its ancient liturgies, which are written in the dialect of the Pharaohs, retain the ancient name of the city of Alexandria—*Rhacotis*.

The Coptic form of service is very primitive. The congregation exchange a universal kiss of peace, the worshippers wear turbans on their heads, and remove their slippers; while children, acting as deacons, remind one of that scene witnessed by the aged Bishop of Alexandria. As that prelate was sitting one day in a turret which commanded a view of the great Mediterranean Sea, he saw some little boys playing in a very solemn way upon the beach. Summoning them to his presence, he questioned them, and found that they had been playing at "baptism," and that one of their number, duly elected, had followed the prescribed ritual, and dipped each of them in the water with the usual formula. The venerable bishop pronounced the ceremony valid, and never lost sight of the boy-bishop, whom he afterwards made his Arch-deacon. The bishop was Alexander; the boy was Athanasius.

produced Ignatius, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus have a Patriarch who lives at Diarbekir, and hold the Monophysite heresy. It is uncertain whether they are called after James the Apostle or after James of Nisibis, called Baradæus (the man in rags), the heresiarch of the sixth century.

Alexandria, once the chief sanctuary of the country, was now, in the time of Clement, the Patriarchal see of Egypt. It was said to have been founded by St. Mark, and its bishop was the only one who bore the name of "Pope" in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. After the Council of Nicæa, he was called the "Judge of the World" from his decision concerning the date of Easter, and was generally regarded with the veneration paid in later days to the Bishop of Rome.

Indeed, Gregory of Nazianzus said that the head of the Alexandrian Church is the head of the world.

The patriarch of that diocese was the Metropolitan of all Egypt, and allowed no other bishop to ordain in his jurisdiction. While in civil matters "he had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate . . . and the Prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the Imperial power of these Christian Pontiffs" (*Gibbon*).

So much for the position and importance of the Alexandrian patriarchate of which Athanasius was the first conspicuous representative.

The patriarch at the present day has a residence in Cairo. Ten other bishops, the representatives of some three hundred of older days, dwell in the same city. And only forty monasteries out of six hundred have survived the destructive work of the Arab, while the Copts, themselves, have been reduced to some 30,000

families. "They are a race of illiterate beggars," says Gibbon, "whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation." This statement is partly true, for it was a great source of sorrow to Cyril Lucar,¹ the Patriarch of Constantinople, to know that the heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greek.

The Coptic Church is Monophysite,² that is, it was so vehemently opposed to the Arian heresy, which denied the divine nature of our Lord, and to the Nestorian theory by which His two natures were divided, that it maintained that Christ had one nature alone, and that a mixture of the human and the divine.

¹ Cyril makes use of the Homeric phrase to give point to his comparison—

Πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἶνοχόοιο.

HOM., *Il.*, ii. 128.

"Indeed many decades would lack their cupbearer."

² Monophysitism "is to be traced to Eutychianism, from which it sprang, though by no means identical with it." "Eutyches not only attributed but one nature to Christ after His Incarnation, but held that Christ's body, being the body of God, was not identical with the human body." "The Monophysites, in distinction, held that the two natures were so united that although 'the one Christ' was partly human and partly divine, His two natures became by their union only one nature. This modification of the Eutychian doctrine was taught by Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the Patriarchate of Alexandria" (*Cyclopædia of Biblical and Theological Literature*, McClintock and Strong, New York).

CHAPTER V

CLEMENT AND THE JEWS

THE campaigns of the great world-conqueror, Alexander of Macedon, prepared the minds of men, in a general way, for the doctrines of the Gospel, some three centuries before it was preached, by spreading Greek culture, thought, and language in the most distant countries of the world, and so fusing into one Greek and Barbarian. But, in a more particular manner, this end was attained in Alexandria, his new city, where the conqueror invited the Jews, to whom he was very partial, to settle in great numbers.

Here, in the very heart of civilization, where the culture of the Greek, the mystic lore of the Copt, the discipline of the Roman, and the religiousness of the Jew were blended together, a cosmopolitan form of thought developed, which, in spite of certain peculiarities, afterwards became a soil admirably prepared for the seed of life.

There is a very interesting account of the first

meeting of the Jews and the Macedonian hero in the *History* of Josephus. After their return from captivity, the Jews had remained the loyal subjects of the "Great King." Nehemiah, it seems, was the last governor sent from the Court of Persia. After his death, Judea was placed under the control of the Satrap of Cœle-Syria, to whom the high-priest was responsible for the administration of affairs. The history of this period is without any striking incident until we come to the priesthood of Jaddua, when news of the invasion of Asia, and the overthrow of the Persian monarch, their suzerain, in the decisive battles at the Granicus (334 B.C.), and at Issus (333 B.C.), spread a panic among the well-affected inhabitants of Palestine, which was increased tenfold when the invader turned his all-powerful arms in the direction of Syria, captured Damascus, carried Sidon by assault, and laid siege to the great city of Tyre. From that place he sent a message to Jerusalem to demand an oath of submission and supplies from the high-priest. These were refused. The king vowed vengeance, and after the fall of Tyre, marched straight to the Holy City.

In the meantime the Jews were in terrible consternation, and Jaddua was greatly troubled. However, reassured by a dream, in which he was advised to receive the approaching Alexander as a friend, he ordered the city to be decorated with flags and garlands for the reception of the conqueror, and went

forth in full pontifical attire, followed by an imposing procession of the priests, to meet the king on the march, or ever he drew nigh the city walls.

But when the great victor beheld the holy name Jahveh inscribed in golden letters on the tiara of the high-priest, it is said that he fell down and worshipped, to the great astonishment of the Chaldean princes and the indignation of his own friends, who scoffingly inquired why he, who had "made the whole world do him homage, knelt before the Jewish priest"?

"It is not the high-priest whom I worship," returned Alexander, "but his God Who gave him the priesthood. In a vision at Dios in Macedonia, I saw Him arrayed in those robes, and when I was considering how I might conquer Asia, He urged me to cross the sea without delay, saying that He would Himself lead my army and give me the victory."

Then the king, rising from his knees, took the high-priest by the hand, and entering the city, sacrificed before the people in the Temple. This story may be a myth.

It is, however, a fact, that Alexander dealt very leniently with the Jews, to whom he granted their ancient privileges and liberties. And when a few months afterwards he founded his city of Alexandria in Egypt, he gave the Jewish settlers the preference.

For a long period the Jewish colony in Egypt had rest, and multiplied; and as usual grew very rich, and lent large sums of money at interest to the uncircum-

cised. They were governed by one of their own princes, called the Alabarch, and by a Sanhedrim, and occupied two of the five districts (Nomi) of the city. Moreover, Ptolemy Philadelphus conferred additional advantages upon the flourishing house of Israel. Nor were they long without a temple. For during the dark days when Antiochus the Syrian was working off his rage on the country of Judea, and seeking by every indignity, pollution, and oppression, to destroy the Jewish Law and Worship, we read that Onias, the son of the high-priest, escaped to Egypt, and there obtained the permission of Ptolemy Philometer to erect a temple in the *Heliopolitan* nome, after the same pattern as the Temple of Jerusalem, and to consecrate Levites and priests to its service. It is said that Onias quoted the following prediction of Isaiah (xix. 18, 19) to Ptolemy as a plea for the building of this temple—

“In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; one shall be called, The city of Heres.¹ In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord.”

This temple of Heliopolis, built by Onias, though somewhat smaller, was similar in design to the ancient fane in Jerusalem. It stood on a foundation 60 feet high, but instead of the massive golden candle-

¹ The city of Heres = the city of the Sun (Heliopolis).

stick, a golden lamp was suspended by a golden chain from the vaulted roof; it was also adorned with votive gifts. This temple remained standing until the time of Vespasian, who ordered it to be demolished in consequence of a tumult raised by the Jews in Egypt.

Moreover, the Jews had a celebrated synagogue in Alexandria, which was built on a magnificent scale, and in which seventy golden chairs, studded with gems, were placed for the Sanhedrim. This edifice was burnt down in the time of Trajan.

Needless to say, the Jews in Egypt soon forgot their ancient tongue, and the recension of their scriptures by Ezra. They found it more convenient to have a translation in the Greek language. This translation—the origin of which is wrapt in mystery—is called the Septuagint version, from the tradition (now universally rejected) of Aristeas, who stated that it was made in seventy-two days by seventy learned Jews. These, the story goes, were sent by Eleazar the high-priest to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was then engaged in founding his magnificent library at Alexandria (283 B.C.). On their arrival, the Egyptian monarch, with a view to test their inspiration, shut them up by pairs in cells, and on the completion of the translations, which agreed verbatim with one another, is said by Josephus to have given the translators half a million sterling for their work.

Clement, following Irenæus (L. 3, c. 25), gives

the same account of the origin of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. In the *Stromateis* (i. xxii.) he writes: "They say that the Scriptures both of the law and of the prophets were translated from the Hebrew into the Greek language in the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, or according to others in that of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that Demetrius Phalereus displayed the greatest zeal and accuracy in superintending this work."

He then proceeds to relate the story we have just told, which he firmly believed, regarding such an origin as the result of a special intervention of Providence on behalf of the Greeks. "For it need not occasion wonder," he says, "that the God who inspired the prophecy should inspire the translation. For when the Scriptures had been lost in the captivity of Nabuchodonosor, Esdras (Ezra) the Levite and priest under divine inspiration restored them in the reign of Artaxerxes."

Clement then quotes from the work of Aristobulus, addressed to Philometor, in order to show that Plato was versed in the Jewish law. The passage runs to the effect that even before the time of Demetrius, previous to the time of the Persians and of Alexander, the account of the Exodus from Egypt and the Jewish code of laws had been translated into Greek, so that they were well known both to Pythagoras and to Plato, "the Atticizing Moses," as Noumenius the Pythagorean philosopher styled him.

This story, however, although attested by such an authority as Clement, is evidently an invention. The translation was originally made for the use of the Alexandrian Jews, and was the work of various authors, who, to judge from the introduction of Coptic words, were natives of Egypt.

Dr. Edersheim suggests (*History of Jewish Nation*, p. 425) that both the Samaritan and the Septuagint translations of the Pentateuch are based on an old Aramæan Targum or Paraphrase. He cites several passages in the LXX. version, which can only be understood with the help of the *Hagada*, the apocryphal Prophets, and the *Halacah*, the apocryphal Pentateuch.

For example, he takes the translation of the book of Joshua, and shows that the Greek of chapter xiii. 22—καὶ τὸν Βαλαὰμ τὸν τοῦ Βεὼρ τὸν μάντιν ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ ῥοπῇ (in the *fall*)—can only be understood in the light of the Hagadic story, that Balaam had by magic flown into the air, but that Phinehas threw him to the ground and killed him in the fall. And the remarkable addition in the Septuagint version to Joshua xxiv. 30—"There they placed with him on the tomb, in which they buried him there, the stone knives with which he had the children of Israel circumcised in Galilee, when he led them out of Egypt, as the Lord had appointed them"—is also due to the same source of legend—the Jewish Hagada.

These passages prove that this Greek translation

was made under the combined influences of the Jewish Targums, ancient paraphrases of the text, and the Talmud, the collection of oral traditions and interpretations on the law, and were only committed to writing in the second century after Christ, but existed for centuries before in the memory of individuals. Be this as it may, the translation shows abundant traces of mistakes, corrections, additions, and omissions.

Though it was, at first, intended only for the Egyptian, it came to be used very largely by the Palestinian, Jews ; and came to be regarded as a work of the highest authority until that sacred race, unable to answer the arguments which the Christians based upon it, disowned it, and made use of a very literal version by Aquila, especially written from the national standpoint, about 160 A.D.

A well-known version of this work, which had gradually become full of errors by reason of the inaccuracy of transcribers, was undertaken by Origen in the beginning of the third century.

This great scholar of Alexandria spent twenty-eight years in collating the Greek text with the original Hebrew, and three other Greek translations, the literal rendering of Aquila, the moderate one of Theodotion, and the free one of Symmachus, Ebionite Jews.

This recension is variously termed the Tetrapla (which contains the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion), and the

Hexapla (which contains two additional columns, the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek characters). Origen marked all the changes he made in the text very carefully.

A long time after his death, Eusebius and Pamphilus found this great work in an obscure place in the city of Tyre, and removed it to the library of Pamphilus the martyr, where Jerome saw it a hundred years later. It is supposed to have perished in the sack of the city by the Arabs, A.D. 653.

There were three further recensions of the Septuagint, one by Eusebius from the Hexaplar text of Origen, one revision of the common Greek text by Lucian, and another by Hesychius. Upon these three recensions all MSS. and printed editions of the Septuagint now in use are based.

This much will suffice to show the important position of the great Jewish colony in Alexandria (in the world of letters as well as in worldly riches), and to prepare us for the great problem its noblest sons endeavoured to solve—the reconciliation of Greek philosophy and Jewish tradition.

CHAPTER VI

CLEMENT AND PHILO'S PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEM

IN order to understand the position and influence of an Alexandrian Jew, let us take the case of Philo (who was already advanced in years, A.D. 40), when he undertook an embassy to Caligula on behalf of the Jews. He was a man of wealth, position, and learning, and the brother of the Alabarch Alexander, who lent fabulous sums of money to Agrippa. Brought up from his infancy to believe in the divine source of every letter of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, made by the Jews of Alexandria, and in after years becoming a firm adherent of the Platonic philosophy, he found it hard to reconcile his reason and his faith. He instinctively held to the Scriptures, while his reason assented to the philosophy.

To deliver himself from this dilemma, he set himself to seek for universal principles of thought in the Old Testament. Needless to say, he did not find them. And this failure was due in a large measure to his uncritical method of study. For he did not adhere

to the recognized rules of interpretation, and paid no heed whatever to the grammar, history, logical development, textual and comparative criticism of the works he studied. Having failed, then, to find the principles of Greek philosophy in the Pentateuch of Moses, he arrived at the extraordinary conclusion that everything in Scripture was allegorical; that nothing was to be literally interpreted, but that the most abstruse and far-fetched meaning was the most probable.

Thus the letter of the text was spirited away by Philo, while the so-called spirit was retained. In this way Philo thought he would be able to find his Greek universals in the law of Moses, and so to defend the sacred literature of his countrymen from the sneers of heathen moralists and the jeers of Pagan sceptics. While, on the other hand, he fondly hoped to satisfy the narrow-minded literalism of the Pharisees, who worshipped the letter, but disregarded the spirit of the law.

If he succeeded in doing this, he would achieve the darling project of his heart—the reconciliation of Greek philosophy and Jewish tradition.

But, of course, consistently with the Greek theories he incorporated in his system, Philo could not conceive the Deity as having any sensible or human quality or feeling. He identified Him with the Absolute Being, undefinable and supreme, Who manifests Himself to the mind that soars upwards, disengaging itself from

everything sensible, and so attains to an intellectual intuition of Him. Such a one loves the Supreme Being for His own sake, and longs to do His will because he apprehends Him not as man but as God.

There are others, Philo writes, who know God only after the analogy of man, and attribute to Him feelings of anger, etc. These have to be trained to virtue by the hope of reward or fear of punishment, whereas the members of the former class apprehend God immediately rising to an intellectual insight of His Being, and so are actuated by love; while they who form the second class know God only indirectly through the medium of His Creation and His revealed word, and so are sons of the word rather than of the true Being.

Thus Philo held that there was an inner and an outer circle of believers, and introduced the Pagan distinction of *esoteric* and *exoteric* into that religion which is for all alike, the millionaire and the beggar, the peasant and the peer, the ignorant and the learned.

This spiritualistic conception of God was directly opposed to the materialistic view the Alexandrian Jews, in general, had of their Jahveh.

One extreme had led to the other; and in this case, the mean, as ever, is right.

For the objective qualities of the Heavenly Father, which were dimly revealed to the Old Testament saints, but in these latter days more fully revealed in the person of His Only-Begotten Son, cannot be

explained away in this manner. And, after all, the religion of Philo and his school was but an intellectual interpretation of Judaism, with all the features of a spiritualized worship, asceticism, contemplation, rapture, and isolation.

Intimately connected with this new departure of Judaism, which presented many attractions to the philosophical, however distasteful it may have been to the Conservative, Jew, was the sect of the Therapeutæ, which some identify with the older Essenes, but which is, perhaps with more reason, to be regarded as a practical exposition of the contemplative life, solemnly advocated by many of the Jews in Egypt, the land of the mystic and the anchorite.

These Therapeutæ were the Contemplatists. They lived, like the later anchorites, in cells by the Lake Mareotis. To this place, from all quarters men and women had come, leaving their households and breaking with all their natural ties, in order to meditate together upon the Being of God, and to study the law according to the new allegorical method.

They used to fast for three days out of the seven, and every Sabbath-day met together to hold a solemn convocation and to partake of a simple meal.

Such was the soil in which Gnosticism naturally took root.

For when, influenced by the new doctrine, the members of this sect professed Christianity, as a general rule, they understood it only after an unreal

manner, and imagined that their intellectual knowledge of God was sufficient to atone for all their sin.

It was essentially the mystical nature of the rising religion which commended it to them, and so the truth, when they did embrace it, became in their hands imbued with such extraneous elements as theosophy, angel worship, legal righteousness, the prerogatives of high descent, and the mystery of numbers.

We must bear in mind that there was a certain class of Jews always hostile to Christianity—the proselytes of righteousness who had been circumcised, and who conformed to the stern ritual of Moses in the strictest way.

Of these Justin Martyr wrote—“They do not only not believe, but, twice as much as the heathen, blaspheme the name of Christ.”

Whereas the proselytes of the Gate, who simply pledged themselves to abstain from the worship of idols and pagan excesses, and to adore the one God, found an especial attraction in the new Gospel, which threw a fuller light upon the nature and work of God.

Moreover, Philo had prepared the way for the doctrine of the Incarnation and Redemption by his idea of a mediating divine Word—which he, however, regarded as a manifestation of a person rather than as a personal manifestation—through which, according to him, the world was connected with God.

It is very instructive, indeed, to compare this imperfect Logos-theory of Philo with the true theory

of "the Word become flesh" in the Gospel of St. John. The Logos of St. John is real, present, and substantial, while the word of Philo is shadowy, distant, and indistinct.

The Alexandrian philosopher indeed spoke of the Word as the First-born Son, but on the subject of His Personality he is altogether silent or vague. According to Dörner and Döllinger he did not speak of this Word (Logos) as if He were a distinct Person; while Dr. Jowett declared that Philo had not made up his own mind on the subject, for at one time he treated his Word as personal, and at another as impersonal.

In this controversy we must bear in mind that the word "person" is applied to God in a different sense from that in which it is applied to man. And yet there is bound to be one element at least in common between the personality of God and the personality of man, and that is self-consciousness.

The argument therefore turns on this, whether or no the Word (Logos) of Philo was regarded by him as a self-conscious Being, aware of His distinctness and individuality as the Word of St. John manifestly was.

The Word of Philo, as has been said already, is a mediating Word, through which God the Abstract, the Intangible One, deals with men and manifests Himself in the world. But in another passage he spoke of this Word as the "Shadow of God, by which, as an instrument, he used to make the worlds," that is, a shadowy

instrument, which can be nothing more than a manifestation of God.

The Word, Philo goes on to say, fills all things, is the "bond" of creation, is the "Eldest Son" and the "Archangel." He is the "spiritual food of man," and the "Intercessor" by whose mediating words the Creator is brought into touch with His Creation. Yet we can hardly believe that Philo is speaking here of anything more than a certain attribute of God, as, for example, His wisdom made incarnate in the world.

If we take another definition of this Word, "The word of God is the Idea of Ideas," we have a reminiscence, or rather a reproduction of the Platonic theory of the Intelligence (noûs). The "Intelligence" is the centre of causality, the agent of creation in the system of the Greek, while the Word (Logos) is the centre of causality, the agent of creation in the system of the Jew. But the Noûs,¹ "the Royal Mind," in the philosophy of Plato is merely a principle of Intelligence in the nature of the Supreme God, and is not therefore a self-conscious personality. Now the

¹ Plato, *Philebus*, 30, C.D. "In the nature of Zeus (the living organism of the Cosmos) you will say that there is a royal *psyché*, but that a royal mind evinces itself on account of the power of the cause"—οὐκοῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἐρείς φύσει βασιλικὴν μὲν ψυχὴν βασιλικὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐγγίγνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας δύναμιν. Again, Plato says in another passage, "Mind is cause; mind rules the whole; mind belongs to that class which is called the cause of all things."

"Word" of Philo has evidently been founded upon the "Intelligence" of Plato, and as it has been proved abundantly from the writings of Plato that he did not regard his "Intelligence" as a person, it would be a straining of the point to read a self-conscious personality into the Philonic Word, or to assert that St. John, whose Word is truly a Person manifested in His Work and Thought, distinct from the Father, and at the same time One with Him, borrowed his perfect conception from the imperfect idea of Philo.¹

¹ Westcott (*Gospel of St. John*, Introduction, p. xv) writes, "The doctrine of the Word as it is presented in the Prologue, when taken in connection with the whole Gospel, seems to show clearly that the writer was of Palestinian and not of Hellenistic training." Bishop Westcott notices that it often happens in the history of thought that "the same terms and phrases are used by schools which have no direct affinity, in senses which are essentially distinct while they have a superficial likeness." He takes the use of the word *Logos* to prove this point. This term is a cardinal one in the philosophy of Philo, as we have shown above: it was also the essential doctrine of St. John. There is, however, a marked difference in the way these authors made use of this word, which may be briefly expressed by saying that Philo, who was as well acquainted with the Memra and Debura (both of these terms mean Word = *e. g.* Gen. vii. 16 is thus read in the Jewish paraphrase of Onkelos, "The Lord protected Noah by His Word (Memra) when he entered the ark;" and Numbers vii. 89 is thus explained in the Targum of Jerusalem, "The Word (Debura) was talking with him") of the Targums as he was with the Platonic theory of the Reason, read the Jewish Scriptures in the light of Greek thought, and so lost sight of the concrete fact of the Incarnation in the cloud of abstract metaphysics; while, on the other hand, St. John,

Philo's problem, as stated in the beginning of this chapter, was the reconciliation of Jewish tradition and Greek philosophy.

Thus it was that he was led to clothe his Greek theory of an abstract intangible Deity in a Jewish form, and to represent his Jahveh as the one supreme, intellectual, and living Being, manifesting Himself through the mediation of an Intelligence which, in its turn, was manifested through its ideas.

according to the bent of his Jewish mind, grasping the ethical and practical nature of the Word, represented Him as the Incarnate Son of God, and the actual Revealer of His Will to man. Thus it was that the Personality of the Word was a matter of indifference to the Alexandrian, while it was the one absorbing thought of the disciple.

CHAPTER VII

CLEMENT AND THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA

IN a previous chapter, a very brief allusion was made to the prominent position in intellectual pursuits which was won by the Catechetical School of Alexandria. This school was established under the best auspices. The grand problem which ever engaged the attention of its professors was the reconciliation of the enlightenment of the age with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. One cannot say that their efforts in this line were entirely crowned with success, but they, at any rate, helped to give a Christian tone to the new Cosmic philosophy.

Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian, speaks of a school of theology which existed in the city from very ancient times. This school was connected with the diocese of Alexandria, and the appointment of the professor consequently lay in the hands of the Bishop.

Very high qualifications were of necessity required

in the catechist of this school, which had a higher aim than mere scriptural exposition, and a larger scope even than the allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Books.

The end the teachers had before them was to show the reasonableness of Christianity to men of reasoning minds, and thus to establish the Christian faith upon a rational basis.

The Catechist should then be familiar with Grecian lore, philosophy, and religion, in order to cope with the wit and intelligence of a highly cultured race; and at the same time, to train up a class of students who were preparing for the different offices of the Christian ministry.

So it was that Clement, who succeeded Pantaenus in the chair of theology, freely used every possible means of helping his pupils; exploring both the ancient and the recent classical authors, and studying every theory of life, creation, and God, that was to be found in the collective wisdom of the Greeks, and in the illumined page of Scripture.

"All learning," he tells us, "is useful, but the study of the Holy Scriptures is particularly essential to enable us to verify what we teach, especially when our pupils come primed with Greek erudition."

Even the learned and ready Origen, Clement's disciple and successor in the chair of divinity, experienced this very thing, and often found much difficulty in answering the various questions and

quibbles that were put to him by the Greek students, who apparently derived a great pleasure from the confusion of their lecturer.

Under these circumstances, we are not surprised to find that in the highly intellectual training college, the Articles of the Christian faith were first formulated and arranged as a system of philosophy, with which we all are familiar under the name of the *gnôsis*, or science of Alexandria.

Of Pantaenus,¹ the predecessor of Clement in the professorship in the Christian school, very little is known beyond the fact that he commenced life as a Stoic, and that when he became a Christian he inspired all his pupils with an intense thirst for that knowledge which he could impart so well, instructing them all in the tradition of the holy teaching directly handed

¹ This Pantaenus resigned his post in Alexandria for a term of ten years, in order to conduct a mission in some remote part of India. It came about in this way. Some Indian envoys came to Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria, and asked him to send them a man who could preach Christ and Him crucified to an ignorant and idolatrous nation. Pantaenus, having heard of the request, at once volunteered his services. After spending a number of years in a land not altogether ignorant of Christianity (for it is said * that he found in India the Gospel of St. Matthew, which had been carried there by Bartholomew, the first preacher of the new religion in those parts), and doubtless enduring much privation, he returned, as many of our missionaries do, and resumed his educational work in the training-school of Alexandria.

* Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 10.

down by father to son, from the Apostles Peter, James, John, and Paul.

The work his master so well commenced, Clement continued, because, as he tells us, "Knowledge is intended for use, and rusts when disused, just as wells, when pumped, yield a purer stream of water than before."

The remaining chapters of this book will be devoted to a sketch of the life and a summary of the teaching of the second, and perhaps the most distinguished, of the three distinguished lecturers of the Catechetical School of Alexandria.

PART II

CHAPTER I

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS: EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

“I espouse neither this nor that philosophy, neither the Stoic, nor the Platonic, nor the Epicurean, nor that of Aristotle; but whatever any of these sects hath said, that is fit and just whatever teaches righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, all this I select and call it philosophy.”—*Stromateis*, l. i.

PREPARED by the foregoing account, poor and imperfect as it is, of the various influences that moulded the education and thought of his countrymen and himself, we are in a better position to understand and appreciate the character and genius of Clement.

The life of Titus Flavius Clemens, evidently a member of the great Flavia gens,¹ and perhaps descended from Titus Flavius Clemens, a nephew of Vespasian,

¹ Flavia gens quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres !
Pæne fuit tanti non habuisse duos.

MART., *Epig. Liber*, xxxiii.

This quotation is found in the introduction to the *Epig.* called *Liber Epigrammaton* (Schneidewin).

Consul 95 A.D., is wrapt in obscurity.¹ It is uncertain where and when he was born, and when and where he died. Of him Epiphanius wrote: "Some say he was a citizen of Alexandria, while others maintain that he was an Athenian." He certainly studied in Athens, but his literary style lacks the finish and grace of the native Athenian. And so it has been thought, that the surname of Alexandrinus indicates the scene of his life if not of his birth.

He was a young man in 195 A.D., the probable date of the *Stromateis*, which does not belong to an earlier period of history than the reign of Commodus,² and professes to be the work of a man in the prime of life, "storing up treasures of intellect for his old age."

It has been supposed that he was originally a pagan, which is not improbable, to judge from a chance expression he lets fall in his writings, to the effect that "he abjured his old opinions."

In early life he was deeply learned in the philo-

¹ In the following chapters the few facts that are known of the private and official life of Clement will be narrated at greater length.

² Eusebius informs us (*H. E.* vi. 6) that Clement in his first book of the *Stromateis* brings all his dates down to the death of Commodus, 193 A.D., so that it is clear that these volumes were elaborated by him in the reign of Severus, 193-211. The same writer in *H. E.* v. 28, quotes a passage from an unknown author, in which Clement is mentioned as one of the defenders of the faith before the time of Victor, Pope of Rome, 193-202 A.D.; so that we are pretty safe in saying that Clement was in the full vigour of his powers between 190 and 210 A.D.

sophy of the Stoics, and the idealistic theories of Plato. But in after years, as he tells us, he was led to embrace Christianity by Pantaenus, the Principal of the catechetical school in Alexandria.

In the first chapter of his *Miscellanies* he gives an interesting account of his studies and his teachers:

"This work," he writes, "is not elaborated according to the rules of art for show, but it consists of records stored up in my mind, a remedy Teachers. for the forgetfulness of age. It is merely a picture and shadowy outline of those clear and lively discourses which I had the honour to hear from the lips of saintly and illustrious men.

"Of these one was an Ionian¹ who lived in Greece. Others came from Magna Græcia (the Greek plantation in Southern Italy). One belonged to Cœle-Syria, and another hailed from Egypt. Of those I fell in with in the East, one was a Hebrew of Palestine, and another was an Assyrian.² But the last I was to meet was the first in merit. Having found him living in obscurity in Egypt, I ceased from my travels in search of the truth. He was the 'Sicilian Bee,'³ who gathered the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic mead, and created in the souls of his pupils an

¹ Ἰωνικός. Some render it, a member of the Ionian sect.

² Perhaps Tatian, to whom he refers in his *Stromateis*, the author of the *Diatessaron*, the first harmony of the Gospels.

³ Pantaenus is referred to. He was the head of the Christian School in Alexandria, and was succeeded by Clemens.—Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 11.

imperishable element of knowledge. These men indeed preserved the true tradition of the blessed doctrine immediately from the Apostles St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and St. Paul, as a child keeps what he hath learned of his father (how few there are like them!), and came to us by the will of God, to deposit in our breasts the Apostolic seed they themselves received from their predecessors."

The greater number of these teachers are unknown to us. However, the order in which they are mentioned, the Ionian Greek first, and the Egyptian Pantaenus last, has given some ground for the plausible hypothesis that as Athens was the starting-point, Alexandria was the final goal of his literary investigations.

It is supposed by some that Thales, the Ionian philosopher, was the principal master he
Thales. studied in Greece, as he frequently quotes his opinions; in one passage writing of him: "He is the only man who seems to be conversant with the Egyptian prophets; we do not read that any hath been his master."

And in another connection, saying, that when Thales was asked to define God's nature, he replied: "It is that which hath neither beginning nor end."

The same philosopher, he relates, when replying to the query, if it were possible for man to hide his actions from God: "How can that be, since we cannot hide our thoughts from Him?"

The Assyrian teacher is supposed to have been

Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr. The Jewish teacher was perhaps Theodotion, an extract of whose "Eastern doctrine" is to be found at the end of Clement's works.

But the last teacher, beyond all doubt, was Pantaenus.¹ Having received such a varied education, and ^{Pantaenus.} having consequently become steeped in the lore of Greeks and Barbarians, Jews and Gentiles, we are not surprised to find that the philosophy of Clement was the eclectic sort. That is to say, he selected from the works he read, and the lectures he heard, the theories and hypotheses <sup>Their in-
fluence on
Clement.</sup> that suited his type of mind, and formulated them into a system of his own. And this accounts for the fact that we find so many interesting echoes of the wisdom of Plato and the Stoics in his *Christian Apologetics*.

"The Barbarian," he said, "and the Greek Philosophy took the fragments of eternal truths which it contains, not out of the Mythology of Bacchus, but from the Reason that did always exist. He, therefore, that would join again what had been divided, and would make a system of it, might be sure of knowing the truth."

¹ Clement gives us an instructive "note" which he took down at a lecture of that celebrated catechist. Pantaenus was explaining the peculiar prophetic perfect in Hebrew which expressed in a most vivid way the certainty of the speaker, and finished by saying, as Clement relates, "The prophets usually express themselves by the aorist, and prefer the present to the future and preterite tenses."

Accordingly, Clement did not despise philosophy.

Shown in For it was God, he wrote, who gave philosophy his method to the Greeks by the ministry of inferior angels of teaching, (διὰ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἀγγέλων), but Christians were instructed by the ministry of the Son.

Acting on this principle, he lectured his junior classes on the Greek Philosophy.

The lecturer thus describes his method of teaching :

“As plowmen cast the seed into the ground only after watering it, so we take out of the writings of the Grecians wherewith to water what is earthly in those we instruct, to prepare them for the seed of the Gospel. The light of nature is presupposed by the light of the Gospel. Christ and his Apostles did not undertake to give a new system of philosophy, which would show up every error by contrast. They took for granted that we were already supplied with several principles of thought upon which we could reason.”

The *Stromateis* is his most ambitious work. It is, as the name suggests, a compilation of miscellaneous notes, arranged without method or taste, as the author himself tells us. For he aptly compared it with “a thickly planted mountain where fruit and other trees are grouped in a confused way together, so as to baffle the plunderer; whereas the careful gardener would be able to find out and arrange in their natural orders such as were wholesome for the palate or adapted for ornamentation.”

and in his principal work, in which Christian doctrine and Greek Philosophy are blended.

"For it is thus, that the mysteries of the Christian faith, veiled from impertinent and ignorant curiosity in this work (which was especially written for those who had already been initiated in the faith), will only discover their rich treasures to the honest and diligent seeker of the Truth."

The number of paradoxes, which bristle through the treatise, recall the aphorisms of the Stoics, which he knew so well. For example: "No one but a Christian is rich," seems indeed to be an echo of "The wise man alone is rich, and a king."

The arguments and theories of Plato, whose works he had studied, are also inwoven in a wonderful manner with the principles of the Christian faith. Indeed Clement seemed to think that Plato's doctrine of the Trinity, which was afterwards very carefully reproduced in the *Enneades* of Plotinus, was identical with that of the Christian. Porphyry tells us that Plato taught that the divine essence extended itself to three hypostases, to wit, the Supreme Divinity or the Good itself; then, the Creator; and, thirdly, the Soul of the World. And Plotinus, in the century after Clement, wrote an elaborate treatise on the Trinity of Plato, consisting of the Being, the Spirit or the Reason of Being, and the Soul of the World, three principles essentially united but practically separate.

Our author spoke of the Divinity of our Lord as these Platonists spoke of "Reason." "The nature of the Son," according to him, "is the most perfect,

the most holy." "He is that excellent nature which governs all things according to the Father's will, which rules the world well, which acts by an unexhausted and unwearied power, and which sees the most secret thoughts." Moreover, Clement always endeavoured to elucidate a Christian doctrine by a parallel from the Greek philosophers.

He believed that the "fire," which is spoken of in the New Testament, was the same as that "fiery ordeal" which Plato imagined was finally destined to purge the sin from the soul. And when the pagan writers spoke of Hades and Tartarus, he held that they were speaking prophetically of Gehenna.

A strange conception of the humanity of Christ is to be found in the writings of this teacher. Not considering, as he said, that his Lord was inferior to the heathen deities, who only required ambrosia, he believed that Jesus Christ needed no milk when He came into the world, and was not nourished by the meat of which He partook in condescension to humanity.

In many respects Clement was decidedly the child of his age. He was not fettered by mediæval doctrines of fatalism and necessity. The will is perfectly free, according to him. "Neither praises, nor censures, nor rewards, nor punishments, are just, if the soul have not the power of sinning or of not sinning." Nor was the

Influence
of Plato
traceable
in certain
peculiar
opinions,

and in the
general
trend
of his
thought.

nature of man to be held responsible for original sin, in his opinion. "Let them tell us," he wrote, "how a new-born child hath sinned, or how he who hath done nothing yet, is fallen under Adam's curse." No wonder, then, that this great-hearted teacher was spoken of in the highest terms of praise by writers of almost every school of thought.

His learning and his piety are subjects of most noble encomiums.

Testi-
monies to
Clement's
learning.

Alexander, the Bishop of Jerusalem, writing to Origen after the death of their beloved master, says of him: "We both acknowledge for Fathers those blessed men who have gone out of this life before us, and with whom we shall be in a short time, the blessed Pantaenus and the *pious* Clement, from whom I have received great assistance."¹

Eusebius says that his books are full of much learning. And St. Jerome, the severe critic, writes: "Clemens, Priest of the Church of Alexandria, the most learned of our authors, in my opinion, wrote eight books of *Stromateis*, as many of the *Hypotyposeis*, a book against the Pagans, and three volumes entitled the *Pædagogus*. There is nothing in his books but is full of learning, and taken from the soul of philosophy."

Cyril of Alexandria tells us that Clement was a man of wonderful learning, who dived to the bottom of Greek learning with greater exactness than any of his predecessors.

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14.

The last testimony we shall quote is that of Theodoret, who said of Clement: "That holy man surpassed all others in extent of learning."

Popular opinion made Clement a saint of the Church. And he was, as a matter of fact, commemorated on December 4, in the early Western *Testimony* to his piety. *Martyrologies*. Baronius, however, omitted his name from the *Martyrology* published during the episcopate of Clement VIII., Bishop of Rome.

There seems to have been a great number of protests against this omission, which Benedict XIV., Bishop of Rome, defended in his letter to John V., King of Portugal, 1748, on the ground, that some of Clement's doctrines were open to suspicion, and that he was therefore not entitled to a place in the Roman Calendar.

The memory of Clement, however, has suffered nothing from this repudiation. For he is now universally esteemed wherever adoration has stooped to reason, and reason has risen to adore.

CHAPTER II

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS: HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER

HAVING devoted the previous chapter to an account of the education and philosophical studies of Clement, we shall now tell all we know of the private life and character of the man.

It is greatly to be regretted that so little is known of the private life and personal character of one who was, in the highest sense of the term, a scholar and a saint. The few facts that history records of so prominent a champion of orthodoxy and Christianity deserve to be enshrined in the memories of all. But if we would know the man as he deserves to be known, we must supplement this brief sketch of his life by a careful study of his works. As we have already seen, he began life as a pagan philosopher in Alexandria; but having been brought under the influence of Pantaenus, he became a Christian, and succeeded his master as Principal of the training college in that

city. Among his pupils were the famous Origen and Alexander, the saintly Bishop of Jerusalem.

While at Alexandria Clement was made a presbyter ; but when the persecution of Severus (202 B.C.) burst forth upon the Christians, Clement left that city, and sought quiet and leisure for his studies and writings for a time in Jerusalem, and afterwards in Antioch.¹

Perhaps it may interest our readers to have some account of this persecution, which so greatly affected the fortunes of our teacher.

It is believed that when Severus, in his early days, was Governor of Lyons, under Marcus Aurelius, he treated the Christians with much harshness. The names of Pothinus, the aged bishop, and of Blandina, the slave girl, both of whom were tortured and put to death under most revolting circumstances, have ever been associated with that infamous rule.

But having been cured of some disorder by one Proculus, a Christian, Severus felt, or rather pretended to feel, favourably disposed to the new sect for some years. However, shortly after his investiture in the purple, he gave the Christians more cause to

¹ Clement defended his withdrawal from Alexandria in the hour of danger by quoting the verse, "When they persecute you in one city flee ye into another." He said he could do no good to the cause by remaining to be tortured ; and he condemned those who voluntarily provoked martyrdom in the strongest terms. "For such," he argued, "help as much as in them lies the wickedness of the persecutors."

remember that name of Severus which suited him so well, by ordering them, under pain of the direst punishment, to desist from propagating their religion.

This edict was given about the year 202 A.D., and was immediately enforced. But the Christians, in spite of the prescribed penalties, refused to obey. Accordingly *furor arma ministrat*. Inquisitions and tortures were everywhere put into operation against them, and new and horrible methods of murder were invented.

The fury and deadly malignity of the persecution claimed many innocent victims in Carthage, notably Perpetua and her friends, who were gored to death by a mad bull in the arena of the amphitheatre before the delighted eyes of the sleek Roman citizens. But the devilish animosity and cruelty of the persecutor seemed to concentrate itself upon the unhappy city of Alexandria in particular. There numbers suffered martyrdom, and among these was Leonidas, the father of Origen, the famous pupil of Clement. But Clement himself wisely sought refuge in flight.

Having reached Jerusalem in safety, he put up at the house of Alexander the bishop, his old pupil, who was then undergoing imprisonment for the faith. Now this Alexander had been a bishop in Cappadocia, but he was subjected to many hardships for having confessed Christ, and at length had to fly for his life to Jerusalem. Here he was received by Narcissus, a man of very great devotion, who asso-

ciated the exile with himself in the care of the Church in that city.

Eusebius gives us a small fragment of one of Alexander's letters, which is abundant proof of the fact that these two men were joint pastors in Jerusalem.

"Narcissus greets you who governed this diocese before me ; and now being an hundred and sixteen years old, prayeth with me, and that very seriously, for the state of the Church, and beseeches you to be of one mind with me."

Moreover, we find an interesting light thrown on the relations of Clement and Alexander in the following epistle from that bishop to the Church of Antioch :

"Alexander, a servant of God, and a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed Church at Antioch, in the Lord, sendeth greeting. Our Lord has made my bonds in this time of my imprisonment light for me ; because I understand that Asclepiades, a person admirably qualified by his eminency in the faith, has by Divine providence become bishop of your holy Church of Antioch. These letters I have sent you by Clement, the blessed presbyter, a man of approved integrity, whom ye do know already, and shall know more intimately. By the providence of God he hath been with us, and hath much established and augmented the Church."

From this letter we learn that Clement was a wise administrator as well as a devout scholar. We also gather from it that he had already paid a visit to the

Syrian capital, and that he was about to return there. For it would materially strengthen the hands of the new Bishop of Antioch to have by his side, when taking up his diocesan duties, a man of the weight and judgment of the Alexandrian Clement.

It is said that after finishing his work in Antioch, the catechist returned to his school, and died in his native city, 222 A.D. This is practically all that we know of the life of one who lived in the light of the Word of life, and laboured modestly and with great success for the Church of Christ.

His general temper may be inferred from the tone of his writings, which is at once mild and exalted, generous and strong. Indeed, it might be truly said of him, that the greatness of his heart was only surpassed by the breadth of his mind.

CHAPTER III

THE MINOR WORKS OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

EUSEBIUS (*H. E.* vi. xiii) devotes a whole chapter to the writings of Clement. Of the *Stromateis* he tells us all the eight books are preserved, and bear this inscription, "Miscellaneous Gnostic notes by Titus Flavius Clement on the true philosophy." Rufinus translated the word *Stromateis* by *opus varie contextum* (Patchwork). Theodoret, in his book on the fables of the Heretics, tells us that Clement received the name of the Stromatist from this compilation.

In the *Stromateis* we find not merely the flowers of Scripture, but a promiscuous collection of everything that has been well said by Greeks and barbarians. Moreover, Clement extends his historical investigation over a long period, confuting the false teaching of the heretics, and affording his readers abundant information on general topics. In the very first book he describes himself as one who has followed on the heels of the successors of the Apostles, and promises to write a commentary on the Book of Genesis.

More will be said on the subject of the *Stromateis* in a following chapter.

We shall also reserve for another occasion our remarks on the tract, *Who is the Rich Man that is seeking Salvation?*, the *Exhortation to the Gentiles* (literally Greeks), and the three books of the *Pædagogue*, and shall now tell all that we know about the *Hypotyposeis*, *Outlines*; a name familiar to the student of philosophy as the title of the work of Sextus Empiricus on the system of Pyrrho. There were originally eight books of the *Hypotyposeis*, as Eusebius informs us. In these the author expressly mentions Pantaenus as his teacher, and quotes his expositions at length. "The *Outlines*," Eusebius says, "consist more or less of abridged discourses on the canonical Scriptures, not omitting the disputed epistles, I mean that of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, as well as the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter."

The historian proceeds to retail some of the opinions of Clement, which he says were to be found in this work. First with reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews: this epistle, according to Eusebius, Clement said was from Paul, was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, but Luke, with his usual zeal, interpreted it and brought out a Greek edition, somewhat similar in style to the Acts of the Apostles. Paul, however, did not commence with his usual form of address, "Paul

apostle," and naturally enough, as Clement said : for when writing to the Hebrews, who had taken a prejudice against him and suspected him, he showed his wisdom in not offending them at the outset by mentioning his name. A little lower down Clement observes, "As the blessed presbyter used to say, since the Lord, the messenger of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, by reason of his modesty as one sent to the Gentiles, did not describe himself 'the Apostle of the Hebrews,' partly out of reverence for his Lord, and partly because it was a superfluous thing for him, an apostle and preacher to the Gentiles, to send a letter to the Hebrews as well."

In this same work, Eusebius tells us that Clement gave an account of the order of the Gospels which he received from the presbyters before him. The genealogical portion, according to Clement, was written first. His remarks on the Gospel of St. Mark will be quoted in another chapter (c. viii.).

Migne, in his *Patrologia*, has published some fragments of the Outlines of the Catholic Epistles. These consist of a Latin version of notes on separate verses of 1 Peter, Jude, and 1 and 2 John, most probably the work of Cassiodorus, who tells us (*Inst. Div. Litt.* 8) that Clement made some remarks on 1 Peter, 1 John, and James, which were often subtle, but sometimes so wild that he had to modify them considerably when translating. This statement receives support from the fact that Photius—though

we cannot trust him much—condemned as impious—most of the opinions expressed in these Outlines.

There is a fragment of a work on Marriage in which this profound remark occurs :—"A girl is not only ruined when deceived by man ; she is ruined when she is given in marriage before her time by her parents."

Eusebius mentions the title of another book, the *Ecclesiastical Canon*, or a treatise against the Judaizers, which was dedicated to Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem. All that we have left of it is a short passage, in which the transitory condition of Solomon's Temple is contrasted with the abiding nature of the true Temple, the Body of Christ. In the Sixth Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 803) he defines the Ecclesiastical Canon, which may have had some connection with this lost work, as "the harmony and agreement of the law and the prophets with the covenant which was given at the appearance of our Lord."

Antonius Melissa cites a fragment from Clement supposed to be a part of the *Treatise on Scandal* which Eusebius speaks of. "Never respect him," it runs, "who speaks evil of another to you ; but rather admonish him, saying, 'Cease, brother ; daily I make more mistakes, and how can I blame him ? For so doing you will gain two, by one and the same salve, yourself and your neighbour.'"

Two very important fragments of the lost *Treatise on the Passover* have been preserved by Petavius.

From these we learn that Clement did not look upon the Supper in the Upper Room as the Passover meal, but regarded it as that which was to take the place of and finally to supersede the Jewish Passover, being partaken of on the evening preceding the feast-day.

"In former years," he says, "our Lord when keeping the Passover supped on the lamb that was sacrificed by the Jews. But now, when He proclaimed Himself to be the Paschal Lamb of God, being led as a sheep to the slaughter, He taught His disciples the mystery of the type on the 13th day of Nisan, when they inquired of Him: 'Where wilt Thou that we prepare the Passover?' On this day the consecration of the unleavened bread and the preparation of the feast took place, and so John tells us that the disciples were prepared on that day by the washing of their feet.

"And on the following day, the 14th Nisan, the Saviour suffered, being Himself the Passover, offered in sacrifice by the Jews. And on the 14th Nisan, when the Lord suffered, early in the morning, the chief priests and scribes who led Him to Pilate would not enter the Prætorium, lest they should be defiled, and prevented from eating the Passover that evening.

"All the Scriptures agree in this point of chronology, and the Gospels are in harmony with them. The Resurrection is a further evidence: for He rose on the third day, which day fell on the first week of the

Harvest, on which the high-priest had to present the sheaf of first-fruits."

There are some copious notes, supposed to be Clement's, on the Prodigal Son, among the works of Macarius Chrysocephalus.

Antonius Melissa preserves these two important passages from the *Treatise on the Soul*: "The souls live freed from all unrest. Although separated from the body and yearning to be restored to it, they are borne immortal into the bosom of God; just as after rain the moisture of the earth, attracted by the rays of the sun, is drawn upwards towards it." And "All souls are immortal, even the souls of the impious; but it were better for these latter that they were not everlasting. For being tortured by the endless punishment of the fire that is not quenched, they can not die nor end their existence."

In the works of St. Maximus we find this short passage of Clement's work on Providence: "There is substance in God. God is divine substance, everlasting and without beginning, incorporeal and unconfined, and the cause of all things. Substance is that which is everywhere existent. Nature is the reality of things or their substance: according to some it is the generation of the things which are brought into existence; according to others it is the Providence of God imparting the fact and the manner of existence to the things that are created."

There are some other works which have been

ascribed to Clement, but without much authority. Of these, the *Summaries of Theodotus* contain a great many opinions concerning which we are uncertain whether Clement has put them forward to confute or confirm; while the *Selections from the Prophets* consist of sundry reflections on Knowledge, Faith, and the Creation.

We may bring this chapter to a close with a few of Clement's aphorisms, which are as pointed as they are pregnant.

Flattery is the bane of friendship.

The majority are more attached to the possessions of their princes than to their persons.

Moderate diet is a necessary good.

God crowneth those who abstain from sin not from necessity but from settled purpose.

It is not possible to be constant in virtue unless of freewill. He is not good who is compelled to be so. . . . Goodness is a quality of the will.

Lovers of sobriety avoid luxury as the ruin of body and mind.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRACT ON THE RICH MAN

THE genuine character of this tract—the Greek name of which is *Τὸς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*; and the Latin “*Quis dives salvetur?*”—is not only attested by the dignified tone of the work itself, but also by the important witness of the historian Eusebius, who praised this discourse in his *Church History*, and copied verbatim from it in his third book (c. 23) the touching story of St. John and the Robber. Jerome mentions this dissertation in his *Catalogue* as the work of Clement; and Photius, Clement’s unfavourable critic, the famous Patriarch of Constantinople, who excommunicated the Pope of Rome 867 A.D., quotes from it in his *Bibliotheca*.

Moreover there is a Clementine ring in several remarkable expressions which occur in this book, such as—*ἐξομώσις, εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις Θεοῦ, τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, μυσταγωγεῖν*, and several others.

If we open the treatise we are at once struck by the simplicity of the language and the clearness of the

argument. As the work is divided into different sections, and concludes with an able peroration in the form of a "story which is no story," and an elaborate ascription, it is thought by many to have been originally delivered as a sermon.

It begins with a general denunciation of those who pay court to the rich. Such, according to the author, are not merely base flatterers but impious sinners: inasmuch as they give the glory which belongs to God to men, who are subject to the divine judgments. By so doing they encourage the rich in the pursuit and love of riches, and instead of reclaiming them from their love of gain, harden them in the pursuit of it. But to him it seemed a far more humane course, instead of flattering the rich for the evil they have done, to try to secure for them by every possible method, their salvation.

"There are several reasons," he proceeds to say, "why the rich find it harder to attain salvation than the needy. For some having heard the words of the Saviour, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven,' without thinking of the hidden sense of this expression, straightway despair of salvation, and give themselves up altogether to the pleasures of this world, as if this were the only life left for them. In their unsettled state, they depart still farther from 'that way,' not troubling to find out what sort of people our Lord was speaking of, nor remembering

that 'what is impossible with man is possible with God.' While others have indeed understood these words correctly, but thinking little of the things that make for salvation have not made the necessary preparation for it."

"It is meet then," he observes, "that those who have a right regard for truth and brotherhood, who are neither unjustly severe upon the so-called rich nor too submissive to them from selfish motives, should encourage them by the word, and prove to them by a clear exposition of the oracles of God, that they are not excluded from the kingdom of heaven, provided only they keep the commandments of God. One must then proceed to instruct them in the works and affections which are the preparatory discipline to which every one who desires to attain the crown must submit; even as the athletes—if one dare compare the things temporal with the things eternal—must submit to a hard and long course of training if they wish to win the prizes in the arena."

Clement now takes up his text, the words of the Master to the rich young man (Mark x. 17, f.). At the outset, he bids us remember that our Saviour said nothing in a carnal way, but that all His teaching is characterized by a divine and mysterious wisdom. "We are not then to interpret His words literally, but to search out their hidden meaning. One should do this especially in the case of those matters which He explained to His disciples.

“Now the question which the young man asked, ‘What shall I do to inherit eternal life?’ was one most suitable and agreeable to the Lord. For the Life is asked concerning life, the Saviour concerning salvation, the Teacher concerning the sum and substance of doctrine, the Truth concerning real immortality, the Word concerning the Father’s word, the Perfect concerning perfect rest, and the Incorruptible concerning complete incorruption. Being called ‘good,’ He takes advantage of this opening word to turn the mind of the inquirer to the Good God, the final and only Dispenser of eternal life, which the Son receiving from Him confers on us. The first step, then, in the path of eternal life is to know God, Whom the Son has revealed, for not to know Him were death; whereas knowledge of Him, affinity to Him, love centred in Him, and likeness to Him is the only life. The next step is to know the greatness of the Saviour and the newness of the grace, of which the Apostle (John i. 17) says—‘The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.’ For that which is given by a faithful servant is not equal to that which is given by a true Son. If the law of Moses could bestow eternal life, surely our Saviour had come and suffered for us, and fulfilled the course of human life from infancy to manhood in vain.

“Moreover, he who had fulfilled all the commands of the law from his youth would be wasting time while seeking the rewards of eternal life from another. In

the matter of righteousness, the youth was conscious of no deficiency ; it was *life* that he needed. Therefore he asks it from the only One who can give it.

“‘If thou wilt be perfect.’ The young man was not perfect ; for there are no degrees in perfection ; and that divine expression, ‘if thou wilt,’ shows us the freedom of man’s will in this matter. Man has the choice, for he is free. God has the gift at His disposal, for He is the Lord. He gives it to those who desire to have it, but He forces no one to receive.

“‘One thing thou lackest.’ And that was the only thing that is permanent, the only thing that is good, that which the law giveth not, that which belongs to the *living*. For the youth had been invited to yield his life to the teaching of the Master, and he accepted it not.”

In this way Clement moralizes on the spiritual condition of the young man. He now proceeds to make some general remarks on the use and responsibility of property. The Christians, he says, are not called upon to live in penury, if they hope to obtain salvation, but they must not be too engrossed in the pursuit of riches or too anxious about the things of this life. “It is harder,” he observes, “to control our passions than to curtail our possessions. And one who has always to think of the ways and means of life can hardly fix his thoughts on the things of eternity. Besides this, if one were to give up his property, he would find it impossible to feed the

hungry and clothe the naked. The poverty our Lord commended is poverty of spirit. His new doctrine, His life-giving teaching, that which was peculiarly His own, was not concerned with the outward actions of men, but with something higher, more divine and more perfect, namely, the principle, that all which is foreign to the soul should be torn up by the roots and cast away."

Clement now introduced the parable of the good Samaritan, in order to press home upon his hearers man's duty towards his neighbour. The rich man who desires to be saved must love God with all his heart and his neighbour as himself.

Clement now goes on to speak of the manifestation of that love in charity. It is interesting to find him discussing in this connection one of the burning questions of our own day, the distribution of relief. If he erred in his solution, he erred on the right side, the humane. "It is difficult," he says, "to know who are really needy¹ and who are not, but it is better that unworthy persons should be helped than one worthy person should go empty away."

¹ The different parochial organizations of the early Church in several respects were far more efficient than those of our own time. There were several fraternities, through the medium of which the poor of every class and condition could be reached. We may instance the *copiatæ* of Constantinople and the *parabolani* of Alexandria. The latter were so called from the *hazardous* occupation they followed, visiting the slums and tending the sick.

"Among our neighbours," he goes on to say, "all believers are to be reckoned; among such are some who are *more elect than the elect* who are called in Scripture 'the light of the world,' and 'the salt of the earth.' They are the seed, the *image* and *likeness* of God, His true children and heirs sent here, as it were, on a certain exile in the great economy of the Father. While they remain all things shall be preserved; but there shall be a general dissolution, when they shall be gathered together."

Clement concludes this homily on brotherly love with "the story which is no story," of St. John and the robber, which one may find in the *Church History* of Eusebius. The story is this. St. John had returned from Patmos, the scene of his exile, to Ephesus, and was engaged in consecrating bishops, founding Churches, and setting apart men for the ministry; when one day, in a small town near Ephesus, he chanced to see a young man of remarkable beauty and intelligence, and at once entrusted him, in the most solemn terms, to the care of the bishop. St. John having gone on his way, the latter took the youth to his own home and educated him with all care. He then baptized him, and having set upon him the seal¹ of the Lord, he straightway relaxed his supervision, deeming that his charge was now secure from all danger. Whereupon the young man, being left very much to himself, fell in with bad companions,

¹ ἐπιστήσας τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κυρίου.

who succeeded in making him worse than themselves, and at last he became the chieftain of a robber-band.

Some years after this sad occurrence the Evangelist came back to the town to demand an account of the trust. "Come now, bishop," he said, "return me the deposit I entrusted to you in the presence of Christ and the Church." Then the old man in tears told everything. When he had heard all, St. John, calling for a horse and a guide, at once proceeded to the robbers' haunt, allowed himself to be taken prisoner, only demanding that he should be brought to the chief. But when the chief saw him he fled, the saint following him and crying, "Why do you fly from me, my son? Pity me. My son, you have still the hope of life. I shall give account for you to Christ. I shall give my life for you. Stop—believe—Christ sent me."

Then the brigand stopped running, returned, threw himself at the Apostle's feet, and with tears, as it were a second baptism, atoned for his guilt. For some time the bandit concealed his right hand; but when the old man noticed this, he drew it from the sin-stained bosom and covered it with kisses. Thus assuring him of the forgiveness of God, he led back his lost son to the Church.

This narrative, graphically and pathetically told, forms the climax of the argument, and the conclusion of this beautiful discourse.

CHAPTER V

CLEMENT'S WRITINGS

THREE of Clement's literary compositions¹ remain, and these are supposed to have originally been parts of one work. They are respectively called the *Exhortation to the Heathen*, the *Instructor* or *Paidagogus*, and the *Stromateis*. In these works is displayed the most varied and extensive erudition. They teem with references and allusions to ancient authors of every branch of literature, philosophy, and science. In fact, such works as these could not be compiled by any one save a professor of divinity, who had abundance of leisure time, the advantage of a magnificent library—such as Clement had in Alexandria—as well as an excellent training in the Greek classics. In the course of our studies we shall take up these different works in their turn and discuss their many points of merit. But by way of introduction to this study, we may here say that the keynote of Clement's Christian philosophy is the Logos: the Word of God.

¹ The other works attributed to him have already been discussed.

This Word, according to Clement, is in the world inspiring every thought that is good, every sentiment that is chaste, and every desire that is pure, in Christian and pagan, without distinction of person. This is the secret of Clement's great sympathy with the heathen philosophy, which he looked upon as being similar to the Jewish religion in so far as they both were revelations of the same God to man, and were both economies (dispensations) divinely given to prepare the race for Christianity.

"Philosophy was given," he wrote, "as their peculiar covenant to the Greeks, just as the law was given to the Jews, a stepping-stone to the philosophy which is in Christ, and a schoolmaster to bring to Him the Hellenic minds."

Thus he regarded Greek philosophy and Jewish law alike as fragments¹ of the eternal truth of Christ. And we shall see in the course of our study how he worked out his grand theory that it is God indwelling in man's reason Who educates and disciplines him for a higher life. Looked at from this point of view life becomes a process of education under the guidance of an im-

¹ In the *Stromateis* (349) he compared the different schools of philosophy, Jewish and Grecian, with the Bacchantes, who rent in pieces the body of one man, Pentheus, and carried off the pieces in triumph. "Each one," he said, "boasts that the morsel which has fallen to his lot is all the Truth. Yet by the rising of the light all things are lightened, and he that again combines the divided parts and unites the Word in a perfect whole will certainly contemplate the truth securely."

manent deity—a truly noble conception of life, and one that is given by the great fact that lies at the basis of our religion, the Incarnation of the Son of God.

The leading thought, therefore, that we must keep before us in the study of Clement is, that life is an education superintended by the Son of God, the Word of Life.

If we adhere faithfully to this noble hypothesis, we shall experience little difficulty, and feel much interest in following the line of our author's arguments.

The *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, being his earliest work, must now engage our attention. The design of this treatise is to convince the pagans of the folly of idolatry and immorality, and to win them to the service of Christ, the living Word of God. Clement begins by contrasting the principles of Jesus Christ with those of Orpheus and other heathen teachers. In the first chapter he entreats the heathen to give up the unholy mysteries of idolatry, and adore the Divine Word and God the Father. He introduces the subject to the notice of those he addresses in a truly fascinating manner. "Amphion of Thebes and Arion of Methymna," he wrote, "were bards told of in story. To this day they furnish the themes of the Greek choral odes. With melody one charmed the finny tribe and the other raised the walls of a city, while he of Thrace, a past master in his art, subdued savage beasts by the might of his minstrelsy."

But these fables, Clement advises the heathen to banish to Helicon and Cithæron. "For Orpheus, Arion, and Amphion were but deceivers after all. They corrupted human life under the pretext of poetry. They celebrated crimes in their rites, and captivated men by the sweetness of their song in order to entice them to the worship of stones; and at last succeeded in making them as silly and senseless as the stocks they bowed before."

But the song Clement sings is not of this sort. "It is the NEW SONG, the manifestation of that Word which was in the beginning and before the beginning. This song alone has changed man and made him tractable. It has made men out of stones and turned beasts into men. For the New Song is the great Teacher of men, the Word Who was from the first and Who in the beginning gave men life, and loved them so much that finally He took their nature upon Him to save them from sin."

"He desires not to enslave men, but to open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, to guide them in the paths of righteousness, to teach God to the foolish, and to reconcile the disobedient."

"From the beginning He was man's ally, and gave him revelations by prophecy: but now He summons to salvation. Different men He treats in different ways. Just as a good physician adapts his treatment to the nature of his patient, so the Great Healer varies His method to suit the needs of the soul. By threats He

reproves, by expostulations He turns, by *words of pity* He wins, and by song He soothes."

"Thus the merciful God puts forth His power to save men, and became the Author of every blessing to us. But chiefly He taught us to live well. Why do we not believe? Does not the Word of God put us to shame, the Word of God Who became man that we might learn from man how man may become God?"¹

This was the method of exhortation Clement followed in his discourses. He sought to win men by the love of God in Christ rather than to terrify them by the fear of future punishment.

When we have read a little more of him we shall find that he regarded the judgments and penalties that God inflicts upon man in the light of remedies, seeing in them the hand of God moulding the will of the unruly son and touching him into shape.

In this manner Clement reconciled the love and justice of God. God punishes man to make him better, and because He loves him. He teaches him by punishment. Thus Divine justice is resolved into Divine love, and Divine anger into the outcome of love.

"To God therefore alone it belongs to consider, and His case is to see in what way and manner the life of man may be made more sound."

The very words with which Clement closes the first

¹ ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθῃς, πῇ ποτε ἔρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται Θεός. (C., c. i. p. 7.)

chapter of his *Exhortation to the Heathen* show us how clearly he comprehended the great truth that Christ is the only *Revealer of the things of God to man*.

“If thou longest truly to see God thou must take worthy means of purification, not the laurel fillets the heathen worshippers wear, but the crown of righteousness, and the wreath of temperance. Then seek Christ with all your heart. ‘For I am the door,’ He says, and He who opens the door will reveal what we could not otherwise have known, had we not entered in by Him, through Whom alone God is beheld.

“For by faith alone we can enter the gates of heaven, which are *intellectual*.” In these parting words Clement marks the difference of his standpoint from that of the Gnostic philosophers of Alexandria. For while they held that faith and knowledge were essentially opposite forces and contradictory ideas, he maintained that faith was the real basis of all Christian knowledge and the true condition of all intellectual and spiritual growth.

CHAPTER VI

EXHORTATION TO THE GENTILES

IN the second chapter of this treatise, Clement endeavours to prove the absurdity of the Pagan rites, and the impiety of their fables, to those he would fain turn from the darkness of heathendom to the light of Christianity.

Now nearly every one has heard or read something of the myths of the classic gods, the poetic fountain of Castalia, the divine oracles of the Delphic tripod, the speaking oaks of Dodona, the snake-crowned Bacchantes, the Eleusinian mysteries and processions, the foam-born goddess Aphrodite, the rape of Proserpina, the unseemly orgies of Demeter and Dionysus, the dread Pallas Athene, the terrible Eumenides that avenge crimes, and the three awful forms, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, that control the fate of man. Writing to the Pagans, Clement entreats them to put all these things away—their false gods and their absurd traditions, and implores them to embrace the living Word by which

the children of wrath are quickened together with Christ. "Whereas those who believe not are still children of wrath. What can they see in these gods to venerate, to love, or admire? Human failings, employments, and fortunes, without any redeeming virtues or excellencies, are attributed to these gods of yours. Search heaven and earth for them, and see if you can find them," he ironically remarks. And then he presses home this argument in words like these :

"Surely they who are represented as being full of sin themselves cannot keep you from sin. They cannot guard you or love you ; nay, such demons are intent upon your ruin, and they prey upon your substance. Look at the sacrifices you offer them ; holocausts of human beings to appease their wrath. They are in very sooth true lovers of humanity and fine saviours of the race who persuade men to murder and slay each other for their amusement ! And then, how absurd and disgraceful are the statues and images that are erected to the gods ! Art, indeed, has made those figures elaborate and beautiful, but it has degraded and deformed more than ever the minds of the worshippers. The skill of man can produce houses, ships, cities, and designs, but who can tell what God creates ? The whole universe is His handiwork ; the heaven, the sun, angels and men are made by Him. He willed and the world was made, because He alone is God. Philosophers say truly that man was

made to contemplate celestial things. But they err when they worship the visible objects around them which were made for man's use, and not for his worship. Cease then to adore the sun ; lift up your hearts to the Creator of that sun. For the Maker of the universe—not the universe—is the goal of our hopes, the centre of our thoughts, the giver of that divine wisdom which alone saves man from the power of demons."

In his fifth chapter of this work, Clement gives an interesting *résumé* of the different theories of Greek Philosophers.

"Among these," he writes, "we find, indeed, many extravagant utterances about the gods, but the philosophers do bear witness to the Truth."

Their fundamental error lay in their regarding as divine certain first principles which were after all but weak and beggarly elements. These they revered, being ignorant of the First Cause, the Maker of all things. For instance, Thales of Miletus regarded water as the first principle ; Anaximenes considered that *air* was the beginning of all things ; Parmenides believed that earth and fire were divine ; the famous Heraclitus taught that *fire* alone was the source of all created things ; while Empedocles of Agrigentum held that life in all its various forms was evolved from the mutual agreement or disagreement of four primary principles—earth, fire, air, and water.

All these, Clement says, were *atheists*. They did

not bow down to stocks and stones, yet they worshipped matter.

Nor were they even original in this, Clement remarks. The Persian Magi were fire-worshippers. They sacrificed under the open sky, and at first regarded fire and water as the only images of the gods, but afterwards they had images of human form.

But to pass on to those philosophers who sought after something higher than the mere elements of nature. Anaximander and Anaxagoras, who lectured on "the Infinite," head this list. The latter of these made a great advance beyond the standpoint of Thales and the elementary school, when he asserted that mind (*νοῦς*) set the matter in motion. Then came the material philosophers, Leucippus and Democritus,¹ who believed that the world and its life and changes are the result of atoms eternally moving, dashing together, and again separating without pause or stay

¹ Clement mentions, in passing, a peculiar theory which Democritus put forth about images. All objects, according to that philosopher, emitted effluvia or minute particles which first stamped their impressions on the intervening air, and then upon the eye beyond. Thus images are formed, some of which are workers of good, while others are productive of evil. It is through these that we have sensation and perception. Democritus, however, did not consider that these images were imperishable, although he believed that they foretold the future to man. It is interesting to read Locke on *Sensations* with this theory before us.

in empty space, which, according to this theory, was just as real as plenitude.

Clement is very indignant with another philosopher, Alcmaeon the Pythagorean, for daring to teach that the stars are living and divine. In this his first literary work he makes a contemptuous allusion to the Stoic philosophy, and its fundamental hypothesis, that all matter is pervaded by Deity. But when his ideas on this subject became more matured he did ample justice to the Stoic theory, that the world is full of the presence of the living God, who indwells in creation, and is the cause of motion, life, thought, and activity.

Last of all, he favours the Peripatetics with a brief notice. These were the disciples of Aristotle, and believed that the Highest was the Soul of the Universe. Clement seems glad to forget the name of Epicurus, who carried impiety to such lengths that he actually denied that the gods took any interest in the world, or in the fortunes of man. The opinion of Epicurus has been immortalized by Horace in his well-known words (*Serm.* I. v. 101):

“credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego; namque deos didici securum agere ævum.”

And yet, in spite of many of their fantastic notions, these philosophers, he admits, occasionally by a divine inspiration hit upon the truth. Therefore Clement does not disown them. “Listen to Plato,” he says; “hear his answer to the question, ‘How is God to be found?’ ‘To find the Father and Creator of this

universe,' Plato replied, 'is exceedingly hard; and when one has found Him, it is impossible to declare him fully.'"

Again, he says, "The King of all things is the centre of all, and the cause of all that is Good. For God, according to the proverb, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all that is in being." So far Plato.

"Whence hath this man this wisdom?" asks Clement. "He derived his geometry from the Egyptians, his astronomy from the Babylonians, his medical skill from the Thracians, but the laws of truth and the thoughts of God he took from the Hebrews, 'who adore the Eternal King, Jahveh, the only God,' and by whom the highest and best thoughts of Greek Philosophy had been anticipated centuries before."

Then Clement brings forward other sayings of these Greek philosophers, in order to show, that, with all their false doctrines, some of them had found the truth. For example, Antisthenes said that "God is not like anything, therefore one cannot know Him through an image." Cleanthes,¹ the Stoic, in a passage of great beauty, informs us that the nature of the Good, which is God, is "regular, just, holy, pious, self-governing,

¹ This Cleanthes commenced his career as a pugilist. Chancing to hear Zeno lecturing in the Porch one day, he abandoned the agôn in favour of philosophy. But in the meantime, having nothing to live on through the loss of his profession, he supported himself by carrying vessels of water to the public gardens at night, while he attended the lectures of Zeno by day. Here is a genuine case of a seeker after truth.

useful, grave, independent, and always beneficial." Clement concludes this view of Greek Philosophy with a quotation from the aphorisms of the Pythagoreans, to wit, that "God is one, and He is not outside the frame of things, but within. He is the Author of all His works and His forces, the Light-giver, the Mind, Energy, and Life of the World, and the Mover of all things."

This quotation shows us how deep and comprehensive, if somewhat obscure, was the view these old Pagan teachers had of the mighty God, the Great Creator, the Centre of Light, Life, and Liberty, and the Heavenly Father of the human family.

CHAPTER VII

EXHORTATION TO THE GENTILES

THE true doctrine, however, which is so obscured in the pagan philosophers and poets, Clement assures us, is to be found in the prophets and sacred writers of Israel.

They tell us how God is not a God far off, but is One Who fills heaven and earth (Jeremiah xxiii. 24); Who measures heaven with a span, and the whole earth with His hand (Isaiah xl. 12); Whose throne is heaven and Whose footstool is the earth (Isaiah lxvi. 1). He will not allow idolatry to pass unpunished. "The idolaters shall be made a spectacle in the face of the sun, and their carcases shall be meat for the fowls of heaven and the wild beasts of the earth, and they shall rot before the sun and moon, which they have loved and served; and their city shall be burned down" (Jeremiah viii. 2). "Hear, O Israel: the Lord thy God is one Lord, and thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Deut. vi. 4). Pleading with the heathen to give up their idolatry, he

says that he can quote ten thousand scriptures of which not "one tittle shall pass away until all be fulfilled." Do not, he entreats them, despise the chastening of the Lord. And then he makes a most touching appeal to them to abandon their present life, and embrace the truth as it is in Christ. For God is a loving God; He speaks to men, not as a teacher addressing his pupils, not as a master ordering his domestics, but as a Father advising his children.

In Christ, he points out, there is life, freedom, and salvation. If such gifts were to be sold, all the gold and silver in the world would not be a sufficient price for them. And now they are offered for *living* faith and love.

And these gifts are for all, young and old, rich and poor. They who come to God, who believe in one God Who is both God and Man, are brought together into one love, become one sympathy in the Word, the express Image of God, and so are restored to the image and likeness of God.

Once more he reminded them how great are the benefits Christ has conferred on man,—wisdom, light, and eternal life. But who is this Christ? one may ask. The Word of Truth, Clement replies; the Word of Immortality that regenerates man by bringing him back to the truth. *He* who builds up the temple of God in men, that he may induce God to take up His abode in them. Will you not cleanse this temple?

Cultivate the habit of temperance, and present your bodies a living sacrifice unto the Lord.¹ "On the whole, the life of men who have come to the knowledge of Christ is excellent. I have said enough ; although by reason of my love for humanity I had even gone farther, pouring out what has been given me of God, that I might exhort men to seek the greatest of all possessions—salvation. For it is difficult to finish a discourse which sets forth the life that knows no end. But this is left for you— τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἐλεῖσθαι ἢ κρίσιν ἢ χάριν—to choose the profitable, judgment or grace. To me there can be no doubt in this matter. Nor, indeed, may one dare to compare life with destruction."

In some such words as these, which recall to our memories the lines of Carlyle, translated from Goethe :

"Choose well, your choice is
Brief and yet endless,"

Clement concludes this most instructive and stirring exhortation to the heathen.

Clement's quotations from the Gospels already show differences between the Eastern and Western texts.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INSTRUCTOR OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

THROUGHOUT the whole of his writings Clement bears witness to the unique position and currency of the Gospels, expressly distinguishing the four Gospels which have been handed down to us¹ from the apocryphal "Gospel according to the Egyptians," and making an interesting statement with regard to the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, which has been preserved for us in the work of Eusebius.² In the

¹ *Strom.* iii. 13.

² Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14.—"Now the Gospel of Mark had the following origin: When Peter had preached the word publicly at Rome, and had declared the Gospel by the Spirit, the many who were present urged Mark, who had followed Peter from afar and remembered what had been said, to put his words into writing. So he composed his Gospel, and gave it to those who had made the request. And when Peter heard it, he neither expressly forbade the work nor gave it encouragement. But last of all, John, seeing that the human had been sufficiently set forth in the Gospels, urged by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel."

course of our reading we shall see how faithful he was to the character, personality, and divinity of Him who is portrayed in that fourfold record.

We shall now take up the next work of Clement, the second in order of thought and time, his *Pædagogus*, or Instructor. In this work the author addresses those who have already left the darkness of paganism and come to the light of Christianity; some of them most probably influenced by the powerful exhortation we have just laid down. As we would naturally expect under the circumstances, Clement gives a rather minute account of the creed and duties of Christians. In the first Book he puts before the new converts the office, the character, the work, and the love of the Great Instructor, Who is the Son of God. And in the two following books he delivers somewhat caustic but necessary lectures on Christian morals and manners.

The office of the Instructor is the subject of the very first chapters. After rousing man from his lethargy to seek salvation, the Instructor proceeds to initiate them more deeply in the mysteries of God. Therefore he has been called the tutor or Pædagogue. But as his object is not so much to teach men as to train them to live a virtuous life, he requires of us the practice of Christian virtues and duties, that so we may attain unto a right temperament and character. Accordingly, this method of imparting instruction is twofold, being by example as well as by precept.

But before we can be taught we must be healed. For just as they who suffer from bodily ailments cannot learn any branch of knowledge until they have recovered ; in like manner they who are diseased in soul at first require a pædagogue to heal their maladies, and afterwards an instructor to train and lead their minds into a more perfect knowledge of the Word of Life.

And the Word of God, taking this into account, beautifully adapts His methods to our needs, first exhorting, then training, and finally teaching.

This Instructor cures the unnatural passions of the soul by His exhortations. The physician may heal diseases of the body, but the Great Physician, the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, heals both body and soul. And so by precept and spiritual gifts He makes man, His greatest work, every whit whole.

As God, He forgives our sins, and as man he trains us to avoid sin ; for man is very dear to Him. God made His other works by the word of His command only, but man He framed by His own Hand, and breathed into him what was peculiar to Himself.

And God fashioned man after His own likeness, because man was desirable for His own sake. For God loves what is good and lovable, and man has proved himself to be both. It is therefore meet that man should return the great love wherewith God loves us, not from fear, but from conviction.

The name of man comprehends both men and

women. The virtue of man and woman is the same. They have one God, one Master, one Church, one temperance, one modesty. Their food and gifts are the same. And they who have a common life, have a common love and salvation. Men and women alike are children of God if they walk in the truth, and their training is one and the same.

With reference to our training, it must be observed, Clement remarks, that it is no "childish business." Being baptized, we are illuminated; being illuminated, we are made sons; becoming sons, we are made perfect; and being made perfect, we are made immortal. This work is variously styled grace, illumination, perfection, and washing. We are perfect because we want nothing; for what can we lack who knows God? Release from sins is the beginning of salvation. We are already perfect when we reach the line of life, and we are already alive when we are separated from death. Salvation then is the imitation of Christ, "for that which is in him is life."

Accordingly, the word "children" conveys no disparagement. But we are children because we are fed with the spiritual food our heavenly Father gives us, even the milk of the word. We are not *perfect* in the sense of having perfect knowledge of Him, Whom to know is life eternal, but in the sense of being emancipated from the former life and groping after a better one; not as being perfected already, but as striving after perfection. Such, according to Clement,

is the character of our childhood and training ; let us now glance at the Instructor and His instruction.

He is sometimes called Jesus, sometimes the Good Shepherd, and sometimes the Instructor. In the fifth chapter of the prophet Hosea, He says, I am your Instructor (*παιδευτής*). Now He instructs in various ways. He trains men in piety, that is, in the service of God, and He leads us in the knowledge of the truth, and He *directs* our wandering thoughts to God. Accordingly His work is not confined to the intellectual sphere. He is Judge, and judges those who disobey Him.

He is the *Word* of love, but yet He does not pass over transgressions. He *reproves*, that *we may repent*. For saith the Lord : " Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die ; and not that he should return from his ways and live ? " (Ezekiel xviii. 23).

The Lord instructs men for their weal and for their eternal salvation.

" The Lord," wrote David, " instructing hath instructed me, and hath not given me over unto death " (Ps. cxviii. 18).

This is Clement's correct rendering of the verse. The word translated " chastened " in the Authorized Version means originally to bind, then to tame, then to chastise, and then to *instruct* (*יָסַד*).

The simplest mind can trace the expansion and connection of the meanings of this word. Binding tames, but the way to bind and so tame moral agents

is to chastise and instruct them ; in a word, to subject them to moral discipline.

According to Clement, the rod with which the Saviour is invested is the rod of discipline, rule, and authority, at the same time a rod of iron and a rod of comfort, while the power of Him who wields it is at once sacred, soothing, and saving. Thus we see how God's love and justice can be reconciled without making His love a failure or His justice an unreality.

Some people indeed think because the Lord chastens, He is not good, and does not love the race. But this is not true, "For there is nothing which the Lord hates" (Wisdom xi. 24). If the Lord hated anything, He would not wish it to exist. Now, nothing exists but in so far as God allows and gives it existence. When God allows a thing to exist, we must believe that He does not hate it. Nothing then is hated by God, or by His Word, for both are one. If He hates none of these things He has created, He must love them all. And above the rest, He will love man, the noblest of all created things; a God-loving being, a creature made in the image of God.

But why does He punish us if He loves us? This is a sensible question, and Clement gives a sensible answer to it.

He who loves a thing wishes to do it good. Now love is shown when one who cares for a person takes care of him. But parents show their care for their children by punishing them. In fact, punishment is

necessary to the right training of children. Many of the passions are cured by punishment, as well as by instruction in certain principles. Moreover, good generals inflict corporal punishment on offenders, having in view the good of the whole army.

In the same way God, Who has before Him the salvation of men—His children—seeks to move them to repentance by severity as well as by forbearance. The Divine anger is therefore full of love to man, and punishes him for his good. This is the answer to the question, “Why does God punish us if He loves us?” for it is the prerogative of the same power to be beneficent and to be just.

Now our Instructor has various ways of instructing the human soul; “sometimes He threatens, sometimes He entreats, sometimes He reproves, sometimes He consoles, and sometimes He exhorts.” According to the state in which He finds the soul, so is His treatment. And He is trustworthy, having three of the fairest ornaments—knowledge, authority, and benevolence.

He has knowledge, because He is the Wisdom of the Father. He has authority, because He is God and Creator. “All things were made by Him.” He has benevolence, for He alone gave Himself a sacrifice for us. But He still uses His power in our behalf to train us in Himself, that so we who have been made in the image of God may grow into the likeness of His Son. For in Christ we have a perfect example of

what the divine character is, as well as a perfect Instructor in righteousness.

“It was some such truth as this for which Plutarch had been yearning, which he and many other noble heathens were in vain trying to extract from the old polytheism. Had Marcus Aurelius known of such a teacher as Clement described, it would seem as though the inmost need of his being must have been met and satisfied.”¹

¹ Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 69.

CHAPTER IX

SOME CUSTOMS AND SYMBOLS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS REFERRED TO IN CLEMENT'S WORKS

HAVING finished his exposition on the nature of our Instructor, which we have reviewed in the briefest possible way, Clement gives his converts some very remarkable lectures on eating, drinking, feasting, laughter, sleep, speech, clothes, shoes, jewels, and other such matters of every-day life.

As it may interest a great many of our readers to learn something of the manners and the symbols of the second century, some of the most striking and light-giving remarks of Clement will be retailed in this chapter.

"Some men," he observes, "live to eat," whereas the Instructor bids us to eat that we may live. Our food, then, is not to be taken for its own sake, Remarks and should be plain and simple, as that sort on Diet. of diet most of all conduces to health and strength of body and mind.

In pressing this upon his people, Clement makes a

remark which the enlightened Christian conscience of the nineteenth century would refuse to endorse, to wit, that "cookery is an unhappy art."

But Clement is right in pouring out the vials of his wrath upon the gluttons and the epicures of his time, who had the sea and land ransacked for dainties to tickle their languishing palate.

In the works of Horace and Juvenal, the classic writers on the ways of good society in the first century, we have been made familiar with various kinds of mussels, mullets, eels, turbot, beetroot, cockles, oysters, lampreys, figs, honey-cakes, and omelets. In fact, as all classical scholars know to their great vexation, the dishes of the fashionable epicures were legion. But what was worse than the luxurious living of the heathen, was the conduct of the Christians, who gave the name of Agapæ (or love-feasts) to the most extravagant and worldly entertainments.

This name was used as a cloke to hide the real object of the supper, which was not love, not charity, but feasting. Whereas "the true Agape, or
 Abuses of the love-feast, is not a carnal supper, but a con-
 Agape. templation of the truth, a partaking of the divine good that Christ gives."

To understand these words of Clement, we must remember that the early Christians, after celebrating the Lord's Supper, entertained their poorer brethren at a feast which they called Agape, or love-feast. This custom had led to various abuses even in the time of

St. Paul, who wrote to the Corinthians condemning in very strong terms the disrespect they paid the consecrated element of bread and wine by using them as ordinary bread and wine in the love-feast, eating and drinking judgment to themselves, not discerning the Lord's body.

All excess is dangerous, Clement goes on to say. Temperance in diet is, therefore, the thing to be aimed at by all. Clement paused to make a quaint remark which throws a good deal of light on the social manners of some of the Christians who were not very refined. "It is very absurd," he writes, "to see people raising themselves on their couches, thrusting their faces into the dishes, stretching their hands eagerly across the table, besmirching their fingers in the condiments, constantly helping themselves to sauce, and eating without moderation."¹

Clement has a wise remark on the subject of wine. "The Apostle indeed said to Timothy, 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake,' meaning that it was to be taken as a tonic, and in small quantities. Wine. But the natural beverage for the thirsty is water. The young and vigorous do not require wine at all. It tends to inflame still more their already excitable nature."

¹ To understand this remark, which has been considerably softened in the translation, we must remember that it was the Roman custom at meals to recline on couches ranged round the three sides of a low square table. So by leaning on the left elbow, one could easily stretch his right hand across the table.

With regard to ornaments, he observes : The wearing of gold and of soft apparel is not to be prohibited, but extravagance in these matters always leads to vanity. And then the work of the Instructor will be made more difficult. For He drives, as it were, our life, which consists figuratively of a team of horses, one steed being the rational, the other the *irrational part* of our nature. No easy task for the latter ; the human horse, being bent on pleasure, rears and plunges, and threatens to upset the chariot.

“ It is well, then, to allow no opportunity to the heathen to reproach us ; but let them rather, beholding your good works, glorify God ” (1 Pet. ii. 12).

With regard to clothes, they should be simple and white, as being especially appropriate to the peaceful and enlightened nature of the wearers.

Clement cannot see why people do violence to Jewellery nature by boring holes in their ears, from and rings. which to hang ear-rings. They might as well, he remarks, bore holes in their noses. Finger-rings are permitted, he says, by the Word. They are to be worn, however, not for ornament, but for the purpose of sealing valuables. If all the servants in a household were well trained, there would be no need to seal one's property, and then one could do without rings. But since some people are not trustworthy, we require seals. Signet-rings are then the only rings to be worn by men. Women who wear gold ornaments appear to Clement to do so lest

any one should mistake them for their maids. With regard to men, Clement sanctions the wearing of a ring on the little finger at its root, not on the joint—for that is an effeminate habit. For then the signet will not easily fall off. The seal on the signet-ring should be a dove, a fish, a ship in full sail, a musical lyre, or an anchor. The figures of idols, swords, bows, or drinking-cups, such as the heathen wear in their rings, are expressly forbidden to the Christian.¹

It would perhaps be well to pause here for a moment, in order to explain more fully the meaning of these Christian symbols, which Clement is one of the first to notice. The symbol of the dove seems to have been primarily a

The dove
as an
emblem.

¹ The Romans used their rings chiefly for sealing letters and papers ; also cellars, chests, casks, etc., *e.g.*

“Obsignate cellas ; referte anulum ad me.”

PLAUT., *Cas.*, ii. 1, 10.

The Romans had their rings set with precious stones (*gemmæ*) of various kinds : as jasper (*iaspis*), sardonyx, etc., on which were usually engraved the images of some ancestor or patron or friend ; some signal event, as victory, or deed of prowess. The seal in the ring described by Plautus (*Curculio*, iii. 54) was a soldier cutting an elephant in two with a sword :

“Clypeatus elephantum ubi machærâ dissicit.”

Pompey had three trophies engraved on his ring as emblems of his three victories. Cæsar affected an “armed Venus.” Augustus at first wore a Sphinx, afterwards his own image, which was used by succeeding emperors.

figurative representation of the Holy Spirit, and then came to be a sign of the soul that is filled with the Spirit.

In the Catacombs (the refuge of the Christians in the early centuries of our era) we find the dove joined with other symbols. It is variously depicted as climbing a vase, pecking grapes, or bearing an olive-branch in its beak. In the first place it is supposed to represent a soul drinking eternal happiness, while in the latter instance it is a symbol of peace.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine makes the following quaint remark concerning his friend Nebridius, which can only be understood in the light of this explanation: "Now he puts his spiritual lips to thy fountain, O Lord, and drinks as much as he can."¹

The Greek words—

Πίε ἐν Θεῷ,
 "Drink in God,"

found on some drinking-vases, are an excellent commentary on this expression of Augustine.

With regard to the figure of a ship under full sail, it is a symbol that is mentioned by De Rossi in his great work on the Catacombs, as being found in conjunction with a fish; and in this connection probably signifies the Church as borne by Christ.

¹ "Jam ponit spirituale os ad fontem tuum et bibit quantum potest."

The anchor also is a symbol very frequently found in the Catacombs. It signifies hope. In Hebrews vi. 19, we read, "which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast." This symbol is often found inscribed on gravestones, an allegory of the hope in the Resurrection, and is sometimes found so drawn as to represent the Cross, the foundation of our hope.

It is not difficult to know what is meant by a musical lyre. The lyre had seven strings, and was held to be the most virile of all musical instruments. It is not associated with the dirge of the wild Phrygian strain, but denotes happiness, peace, and harmony. And so it is a fitting symbol of the soul which is at peace with God and man, filled with a happiness that is at once manly and harmonious.

But with regard to the most important emblem of all—the fish.¹ This represents Christ and the Christian. It was the most ancient sign of all, but gradually became less and less frequent. De Rossi says it was not used in any theo-

¹ Tertullian (*circa* 200 A.D.) in his treatise on baptism says: "Nos pisciculi secundum *ΙΧΘΥΣ* nostrum, Jesum Christum in aquâ nascimur" (We small fishes, after the example of our Fish, Jesus Christ, are born in water).

Optatus (*circa* 350 A.D.), Bishop of Mileve in North Africa pointed out that the word *ΙΧΘΥΣ* is formed of the initials of the titles of Christ. *Piscis nomen, secundum appellationem*

logical sense after the third century. It is, however, found as late as the sixth century carved on the fonts and readers' desks (*ambones*) in the churches of Ravenna. The other figures, however, that are found in connection with it there are not allegorical. The fish probably ceased to exist as a symbol after the fourth century, while crowns, palms, birds, sheep, crosses, and monograms still continued to be in vogue.

It is believed that the fish was a symbol of Christ, and some think that this sign was originated by the acrostic quoted by Eusebius, the initial letters of which make up the words

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ.

The initial letters of which in their turn form the word *Ιχθύς*, fish. But the symbol was clearly used in the early patristic age, and instead of being derived from this acrostic, rather gave rise to it.

This view is corroborated by the following lines, the initial letters of which give us *σταυρός* (cross):—

græcam in uno nomine per singulas litteras turbam sanctorum nominum continet, ΙΧΘΥΣ quod est latine Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator (Optat. Milev. in *Bibl. Patrum*).

Augustine says that *Ιχθύς* is formed of the initial letters of the Greek words *Ιησοῦς χριστός θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ*, and that in this word Christ is mystically expressed because He descended into the depths of this mortal life, into the abyss of waters (*De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 23).

Σ ἡμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἀριδείκετον, οἶον
 Τ δ' ἐύλον ἐν πιστοῖς τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον ἔσται·
 Α νδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωῇ, πρόσκομμά τε κόσμου,
 Υ δασι φωτίζον πιστοὺς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς·
 Ρ ἄβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖη γε κρατήσῃ.
 Ο ὅτος δ' νῦν προγραφεῖς ἐν ἀκροστιχίοις θεὸς ἡμῶν
 Σ ωτήρ, ἀθάνατος βασιλεὺς ὁ παθῶν ἔνεχ' ἡμῶν.¹

For the Christians certainly had not to wait for this acrostic before they used the symbol ^{The cross} of the cross,² which is mentioned in all the ^{as} early Christian writers. Clement says that ^{emblem.} cross was a *signum Christi*, a sign of Christ, and Tertullian shows that the Christians loved this symbol (*De Corona Milit.* c. 3). At any rate Clement is the earliest witness of the symbol of the fish, which originated in Alexandria when the Church was composed of Jewish converts; it being the custom of the Jews to coin names for their leaders by combining the initial letters of some legend or motto.

For example, the name of Maccabæus was formed by the initial letters of Judas' motto, "Who is like unto Thee among the strong, O Lord?" However, whether these sibylline verses quoted above originated this idea, or were themselves suggested by it, the

¹ This acrostic is given in Latin and Greek in Eusebius, *Oratio Constant. ad Cæl. Sanct.*, c. 18. The Latin translation is to be found in Augustine, *De Civitate*, xviii. 23. In olden times it was customary to sing these sibylline verses in church at Christmas.—Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* 4, xii. 13.

² *Vide* Neander, i. 192, 201, 406.

mystical meaning of the *fish* grew up, and in many monuments it represents our Lord. But it is seldom found alone.

Now it is depicted as bearing a ship on its back, The fish in conjunction with other symbols. a type of Christ bearing the Church ; now it is represented with a dove ; and now in conjunction with bread, which is most probably a figure of the Lord's Supper ; the fish being the reality, viz. Christ typified by bread, the outward sign.

But the fish also frequently stands for the Christian, the fisher of men. In the Greek liturgies we find this metaphor kept up in such expressions as the "rod of the Cross," the "book of preaching," the "bait of Charity," and the "draught of fishes."

We shall now, after this somewhat tedious but necessary digression, elicited by Clement's remark on rings, proceed in our next chapter to finish our *précis* of Clement's lectures to his converts.

CHAPTER X

CUSTOMS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS (*continued*)

CLEMENT lays down some peculiar regulations concerning the hair. "It seems right," he asserts, "that men should shave their hair unless it is curly. Ringlets should not be worn, but the beard should be allowed to grow long and full. A close tonsure of the chin is also reprehensible. For the Psalmist rejoiced in the beard of Aaron, and sang of the ointment that ran down unto the beard. Accordingly, on no pretext whatever is the hair on the chin to be removed. It gives no inconvenience at meals, and lends a dignified and venerable appearance to the countenance. "For," he reasons, "we cut our hair not from elegance, but from necessity."

Clement is very severe on the habit of wearing wigs. He assumes that it is only women who do so, and that they do it solely with a view to embellish their persons. "Old age is not to be concealed," says Clement, "for it is a mark of God's honour, and the sight of white hairs has often subdued

boisterous youth. Grey hair should not therefore be dyed. Clement had a true eye for the beautiful; for nothing is so beautiful as silver locks among the gold.

Our lecturer now proceeds to give his pupils a short homily on the art of walking. "With regard to walking," he writes, "one should not rush through the streets, elbowing every one out of his path; nor yet should one linger unduly, but walk sedately, without swaggering and staring everybody out of countenance."

Moreover, Clement spoke as an authority on the subject of conveyances. He did not approve of the wealthy, when in the vigour of health, making such frequent use of the *lectica* (the modern "sedan-chair"). Juvenal, in his *Satires*, was fond of picturing the *Mæcenas supinus* reclining at ease on his velvet cushions, while his stalwart Nubians carried him from post to pillar. Chariots were fancied by the *jeunesse dorée*, and sedate cobs by men who preferred exercise to show; while the sedan-chairs were considered to be the luxury of the rich.

Clement was equally firm against the passion of gambling. It is from frivolity and idleness, he says, that men waste their time with the dice. It were very much better for them to cultivate the society of good men, and learn to make a profitable use of their leisure hours.

For the same reason they are not to become vulgar gossips, and spend their hours in the barbers' shops

and refreshment-rooms. This advice was very much needed at a time when the barber was the great scandal-monger and professional news-retailer of the age. While he himself was a good substitute for a daily journal, his rooms answered the purpose of a rendezvous for the idle men about town. There it was usual of a morning to find a group of fashionable men of all ages, whose whole thought in life seemed to be concentrated upon the cut of their beards and the trimming of their moustachios, freely discussing the latest news of State and the tit-bits of social scandal, in the presence of the barber, whose ears were quite as quick as his fingers. Against these *matinées* Clement warns his converts, and pursuing the same theme, forbids them attend the heathen spectacles and plays which were notorious for naughtiness and shameless frivolity.

With regard to mirth and merriment, Clement took up a sound position and laid down this general principle, which he based on the teaching and example of the Master: "Whatever things come naturally to men, these are by no means to be discouraged, but they are to be kept within due bounds" (*Pæd.* ii. 196).

Clement is now hastening to the end of this series of lectures, and summarizing his precepts, observes that the fast God requires from men is "to abstain from wickedness, and to do good," quoting the words of Isaiah lviii. 5—7: "Is not this the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord, to loose the bands of ^{The fast.}

wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him?"

"Now it is time," says Clement, "for me to cease, and for you to listen to the words of the true Instructor. For you are now made fit to receive instruction from Him. He will teach you the oracles of God. He will accomplish our training by assisting us to bring to perfection the likeness of God, in which we have been created, and so to reach a true knowledge of the good God who created us."

Clement concludes this lecture with an exquisite hymn of praise to the God of peace and salvation, of which the following rendering was made by the late Dean of Wells:

"Curb for the stubborn steed,
Making its will give heed;
Wing that directed right
The wild bird's wandering flight;
Helm for the ships that keep
Their pathway on the deep;
Our stay when cares annoy,
Giver of endless joy:
Jesus, hear!

Thine infant children seek,
With baby lips all weak,
Filled with the Spirit's dew
From that dear bosom true

Thy praises pure to sing,
Hymns meet for Thee, their King :
O Jesus, hear !

We, heirs of peace unpriced,
We who are born in Christ,
A people pure from stain,
Praise we our God again :
O Jesus, hear !

We have now finished the *Pædagogus* of Clement, which may be briefly characterized as a series of lectures such as might very appropriately come from the chair of Pastoral Theology in the Divinity School of Alexandria, in the second century of our era, when voluptuousness, ease, and luxury were the predominant features of the age.

There is one lesson we should all carry away with us from the study of this excellent work, and it is this, that we ought to make our religion a matter of every-day concern. In the words of Clement, "we should all philosophize," that is, we should all give heed to the words of divine wisdom, and frame our lives accordingly. This is surely the highest sphere, the noblest ideal, and the truest mission of philosophy.

CHAPTER XI

ASCETICISM, AND OTHER SUBJECTS

THIS would seem to be the most suitable connection in which to introduce a short *résumé* of Clement's teaching on the subject of asceticism, and kindred topics.

The Gnostic, as the true believer is called in these lectures, fasts according to the law, by abstaining from evil deeds, and, according to the Gospel, by putting away evil thoughts. He fasts from covetousness and voluptuousness, from which all vices grow. However, the Gnostic is not an anchorite ; he lives in the world, doing good to all he can reach. And though he has his body under control, and devotes only as much time and thought as is absolutely necessary, to his food, still he is not necessarily an ascetic nor a celibate.

For abstinence, according to Clement, has reference, not to some particular thing, such as drink or meat, but consists in despising money, taming the tongue, and securing, with the help of reason, the mastery over sin. For from such all men should abstain, even

though they are not philosophers, because all are striving after the higher life. Belief in God is, after all, the best philosophy; and Faith may be learned without the Scriptures, for there is one scripture that is adapted to the most ignorant minds, and that is *love*.

The business of life may be conducted in a holy manner, but as to renunciation of worldly goods and isolation from the world, this is not to be thought of at all.

In his tract, *Who is the Rich Man that is seeking Salvation?* which we have already spoken of, Clement shows that Christ requires, above all things, the affection of the heart.

A man may give away his goods, and still long for them in his soul, having deprived himself of the very necessities of life.

"Besides, what charity could be exercised if one had nothing to bestow?" Clement pertinently asks. Property and wealth of every kind are therefore to be regarded as the means and instrument of good, and not to be rashly given away.

SPIRITUAL RELIGION.

Clement ever raised his voice against those who would make Christianity an external affair.

"It is not the place," he tells us in the *Stromateis* (i. 175), "but the congregation of the faithful that I call the Church." In the *Pædagogus* (i. 111) he

declares that the followers of Christ ought to be as respectable in their lives as they appear to be in the church ; they should really be, and not merely seem to be, gentle, devout, and amiable. "I know not how it is," he says, "that, with the place, they change their habits and manners, just as the polypus is said to change its colour according to the nature of the rock to which it clings. They have no sooner left the church than they put off the devotional manner which they put on there, and become just like the others with whom they live. They convict themselves of hypocrisy when they lay aside the mask of decorum which they assume, and leave behind them, in the place where they hear it, the word of God." Clement was equally firm against the heathen practises that were invading the worship as well as the religion of the Christians.

With reference to the use of images, he writes—
"We must not adhere to the sensuous, but we must rise to the spiritual. Daily familiarity lowers the dignity of the divine, and to honour a spiritual being by means of earthly matter is to debase it by making it an object for the senses." He warns the Christians not to place too high a value on their personal appearance. "Our Lord," he remarks, "is said to have been without beauty in His person ; and who is better than our Lord ? But He did not manifest in Himself that beauty of body which consists in the outward appearance, but the true beauty which is of

soul as well as body ; that of the soul in good deeds, and that of the body in its immortal destiny."

The spiritual direction of Clement's mind is apparent in his exquisite commentary on prayer. "Prayer," he says, "if one may speak boldly, is intercourse with God. Though we but lisp, and even if we do not move our lips in such communion, still we cry to Him from the deepest recesses of the heart, for He ever heeds the straining of the inward soul after Himself."

"The devout Christian," Clement tells us, "is one who will pray in every place, but not openly to be seen of men. In his walks, during his conversations with others, when silently reading or thinking, he finds opportunity for prayer. And although he is only thinking about God in the chamber of the soul, and calling upon His Father with silent aspirations, God is near the praying one, and with him all the time."

It is true that there were a great many in the days of Clement who would reply to his godly admonitions in such terms—"We cannot all be philosophers ; we have not all learnt to read." To these Clement would reply (*Pædagogus*, i. 111)—"What sayest thou? Are we not all striving after life? How art thou then a believer? How lovest thou God and thy neighbour? Is not that philosophy? Thou sayest, 'I have not learned to read.' But if thou hast not learned to read, still thou canst not plead the excuse that thou hast not heard. All hear the word preached and read in the church. But faith is not the exclusive possession of

the wise of this world, but of the wise in God." Even the *ordinary* affairs of life can be managed in an *orderly* and yet a godly manner.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ κοσμίως κατὰ θεὸν ἀπάγειν οὐ κεκώλυται.

Accordingly tradespeople and tavern-keepers should practise philosophy."

In this manner Clement upheld the spiritual calling of all believers. And yet he was not a leveller like Carpocrates. He recognized different stages in the life of the genuine Gnostic; and he distinguished the coarse-minded self-pleasers from those refined spirits who had won the mastery over self, and had attained to the pure contemplation of God's purpose.

He showed that Christ was a lover of all men, in opposition to those Gnostics who spoke of an inner circle of elect people; yet, at the same time dreading so much as the profanation of the Scriptures by rude handling, he had the idea of a select number of refined and devoted men who might be trained to understand those truths which were beyond the reach of others.

Clement saw in the ascetic discipline, which he advocated so warmly, a means of separating the carnal from the spiritual in man, and of giving him the self-washing so essential to the inner illumination of the soul. To set men free from the bondage of sin, selfishness, and idolatry, and to edify the Christian life, was his grand purpose.

He advocated modesty and devotion on all occasions, recommending the married to begin the day with prayer and the reading of the Scriptures; and advising men and women to go to church in becoming attire, quietly and silently, with love in their hearts, pure in body and heart, and so prepared to pray to God.

SOCIALISM—COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

It is interesting to find this burning topic of our day, which is ever on the lips of those who say not as of old, "All mine is thine," but "All thine is mine," discussed by an Alexandrian divine of the second century.

In his opinion, community of goods was repugnant to the divine purpose. "For just as the world is composed of opposites—such as hot and cold, moist and dry—so it is made up of givers and receivers." A peculiar argument, containing more truth than at first appears, if one may see in it the conception of humanity as a race, whose members sympathize with, help, and supplement one another.

Of course Clement's teaching on the subject of fasting must be considered as a reaction from the extreme views of the Montanists, who sought to impose new fasts and new regulations of abstinence on the Church.

With regard to celibates, Clement gives the palm to the husband, inasmuch as he has more temptations

and a severer and therefore better discipline in providing for his wife and household than a bachelor.

In truth, writes Clement, it is not in the solitary life one shows one's self a man. The bachelor is inferior to the man who, having more to oppose him in working out his own salvation, still fulfils more duties in social life, and truly exhibits in his own family a miniature of providence itself.

But neither condition of life is of any benefit to us without knowledge. Only virtuous actions done with knowledge—a true consideration of the motive, the end, and the ethical value of the act—are profitable.

An argument is quoted by Clement as brought against Christianity by Pagan and Jew alike, which is remarkable in this, that the very same is generally urged by Romanists against Anglican Protestants to-day. It is this: "If Christianity is true, how is it that there are so many sects of Christianity? Can the truth be divided?"

This argument Clement answers by saying that "among the Jews and philosophers many sects have sprung up, and yet they do not say that one ought to give up philosophy or Judaism because the many sects do not agree."

Besides, our Lord foretold that "tares would be sown among the wheat." The few are not therefore to give up the truth because the many go wrong. There are many schools of medicine which teach different methods, yet no one hesitates to call in a physician.

Moreover, the Apostle wrote to the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. xi. 19) that there must be heresies among them, that they which are approved may be made manifest, that is, distinguished as genuine from the spurious believer, who set up self-chosen opinions of their own in the place of the truth.

For the truth, being arduous to approach and difficult to retain, is a test of character when men seek it and hold fast to it. Besides this, heresies assist us in the discovery of truth, calling for a deeper inquiry and greater diligence on the part of the student.

Finally, Clement urges the heretics to study the Word of God, to use their reason, and to hearken to the Divine Instructor.

PART III

CHAPTER I

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE 'STROMATEIS'

IN his *Stromateis* or *Miscellaneous Notes*, the work by which our author is best known, and which has given him the title of "the Stromatist," Clement describes at great length the nature of the true gnosis, and the education of the genuine Gnostic, who, in his phraseology, is one who has a sincere faith based upon a sound knowledge of the principles of his belief.

But before we enter upon the details of that truly comprehensive work, we may here explain that the relation of faith to knowledge in Clement's system is not clearly drawn. For at one time our author states that faith is the basis of knowledge, because it imparts the divine life which penetrates and cleanses the soul, and gives a new faculty for discerning divine things. While on another occasion he seems to understand by "pistis" (*πίστις*), faith, a carnal faith

which adheres to the letter of authority. This apparent contradiction may be got over by the careful student. For when Clement uses the term "faith" in the former sense, he is generally speaking of the proper, the rational, and the spiritual faith. And when he uses the word in the latter sense, he is clearly using the word in its ordinary acceptance.

In a succeeding chapter we shall enter more fully into the subject, but this much by way of preamble must suffice for the present.

The usefulness of Philosophy in preparing the heathen for the reception of Christianity is the noble burden of the first book of these notes. This line of reasoning, very interesting and instructive in itself, is rather spoiled by Clement's very peculiar idea, that all the good of pagan philosophy was derived from Hebrew influence.

The first lecture of this work begins with a defence of the written composition. Clement had evidently delivered his lectures before his divinity class from notes which he afterwards revised and elaborated for publication and transmission to posterity.

"If heathen and atheistical writers, such as Epicurus, who founded the famous sect of the Epicureans; Hipponax, who invented the Ionic a minore verse; and Archilochus, whose page worked itself out in iambic measures, were allowed to write their compositions, why," he asks, "should any one object to the publication of a Christian writer?"

"There seem to be two ways of proclaiming the truth," he goes on to say; "the one by the spoken, the other by the written word. And each soul has its own proper food. Some thrive on erudition and science, while others feed on the Greek philosophy, the kernel of which alone is eatable."

The word of life, however, is not to be entrusted, according to him, to those whose minds are already occupied with the methods of the various schools. For such are not yet open to the truth. We must first acquire faith, which is here defined as a power of judging according to reason. For it is only then that we can receive divine words. And this, says Clement, is the meaning of the saying: "If ye believe not, neither shall ye understand" (Isaiah iii. 9). He then exhorts his readers to study the Word of God, which "kindles the living spark of the soul, and elevates the mind."

But yet our author will not shrink, as he informs his pupils, from making use of all that is good and excellent in philosophy, and in every other form of instruction. For just as St. Paul became a Greek for the sake of the Greeks, so it is right to set forth the opinions that appeal to the Greek reason, if we are to gain them.

But, as Clement charily observes, "A composition is extremely fortunate that escapes the censure of the reviewer." He will therefore strive to do his best to give his critics no reasonable pretext for fault-

finding, and will accordingly only deal with the kernel of that Greek philosophy which is covered over with a thick and hard shell of error.

Of course he is prepared for those who will object that such an investigation is foolish and superfluous; for those that will say that it is quite sufficient to occupy oneself with the necessary and vital truths of religion, and also for others who go further and assert that philosophy is one of Satan's inventions to lead away men from the truth. But he hopes to show these objectors, if they will lend him a patient hearing, that evil has an evil nature, and consequently cannot produce aught that is good, and, therefore, since philosophy is good to a certain degree, it cannot be the work of the Evil One, but must be the work of God.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL REMARKS ON PHILOSOPHY

WE shall now dip more deeply into the volume of miscellaneous wisdom, so appropriately styled the *Stromateis*.

From these lectures we learn that the same narrowness of intellect and dimness of vision which prevails in certain Christian circles—rapidly decreasing we are happy to say—of to-day, was predominant in a small section of the Alexandrian community. Clement evinces great skill in dealing with these ignorant and obstinate people, who condemned a philosophy as useless and hell-begotten which they had never taken the trouble to investigate. "If Philosophy were indeed useless," he argues, "it would be a useful thing to show up its uselessness. But it is absurd for any one who has not an intimate knowledge of it to condemn it."

So far from ruining life by being the cause of false practices and base deeds, philosophy is "the clear image of truth, a divine gift to the Greeks." Nor

does it draw one away from the faith; nay, rather, it helps to support it by calling into play the reason, the basis of knowledge. And yet a great many so-called philosophers deride and scoff at the truth. Such are the Sophists, who are called *Sophistai*, or *Sophoi*, because they are versed in logomachy or wordy strife. Of these the Scripture says: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent" (Isaiah xxix. 14). But wisdom is manifold, and every form and degree of wisdom is from God, Who manifests His Power and Intelligence in many departments and in many modes, in art and science as well as in theology. Here we find an echo of Hebrews i. 1:

"God, Who at sundry times and in divers manners (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως) spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets."

Before our Lord came, philosophy was the school-master of the Greeks in righteousness, and now it conduces to piety, being an excellent preparation and discipline in religion. Philosophy then is a good thing, Clement reasons. But God is the cause of all good things, therefore philosophy is from God; perhaps not as immediately as the Old and New Testaments, but surely given to bring the Greek mind to Christ, even as the law was the school-master (παιδαγωγός) to lead the Hebrews to Him.

For Truth is like a river. It has one principal channel, but streams flow into it from all sides.

Accordingly, when our Saviour uttered the never-to-be-forgotten words, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children to me (*ἐπισυναγαγεῖν*), as the mother bird gathers her fledglings to her under her wings" (Matt. xxiii. 37), He made allusion to the manifold ways in which the Spirit of God, Who fills the world, was pleading with and training the Jews to discern the truth in Him who said, "I am the Truth."

While the inferior branches of study contribute their quota to philosophy their mistress, Philosophy herself is the study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of things human and divine. And these, in their turn, find their consummation, their fulfilment in Christ.

This is Clement's general line of argument, by which philosophy is shown to be the handmaid of theology, because it gives men an aptitude for and a keen insight into the truth, and so trains men to receive the Christ.

Now, according to Clement, culture improves the mind. Accordingly, the man who has been trained in demonstration and reasoning has acquired a facility for understanding the nature and relations of things, which will prove useful to him, not only by refining and sharpening his wits, but also by purging the soul and enabling it to see the truth clearly. Besides, noble natures are always benefited by a noble training. Indeed it is not by nature but by training, Clement

believes, that people become noble and good, just as the vine and the horse require a great deal of care before they can give satisfaction. Of course he does not deny that certain people have a natural predisposition or leaning towards virtue. But his point is, that such people always require a careful training, if their aptitude is to come to anything; while others, not naturally so gifted, if they obtain the education, generally attain excellence.

Man, indeed, was created by God naturally social and just. But the good in him required to be educed or evolved by precept and commandment. And so the law was given. Of course even without learning a man may be a believer; but according to Clement it is impossible for an unlearned man to understand the articles of the faith. Consequently he was unwilling to disclose our fundamental principles. For it is easier, he said, to attain unto virtue after previous training; and than instruction in philosophy and literature, there is no more excellent training.

Greek culture and philosophy must then have come down from heaven, not directly, it may be, but just as the rain falls on good land and bad, or as the seed is everywhere scattered by the hand of the sower. This is the conclusion of this able argument.

Now Clement does not limit the term philosophy to any special school, such as the Stoic, the Epicurean, the Platonic, or the Aristotelian, but "whatever has been well said by each of these sects, this eclectic

whole I call Philosophy." But he does not regard as divine the false inferences of men.

"There are many ways to righteousness," he says, "for God is good and saves in many ways. But Christ Himself is the Gate ; by Him the happy ones enter, and are led into the sanctuary of knowledge."

But sophistry, which refines away the meaning of words ; which embellishes falsehood with the flower of rhetoric ; which tends only to glorification, never to edification ; which persuades men to regard the probable as the true, Clement believes, has been justly called an "evil art" by Plato, and a "dishonest wit" by Aristotle. To such the Apostle refers in his Epistle to Timothy, when he speaks of a kind of teaching of little depth, but of a "pale cast of thought," busied with questions about words.

Such a method of reasoning is indeed a disease. And by such sound doctrine and holy knowledge will never be attained. There are some people, however, who think themselves so naturally endowed, that they do not require either philosophy or logic. "Faith alone is necessary," they say.

But, as Clement aptly remarks, these people are like to men who would pluck the clusters from the vine without having spent any pains on rearing and training it.

"And, after all," he pointedly asks, "how comes it to pass that training and experience, which are held to be essential in every other sphere of life and labour, are

regarded as unessential in the highest department of all—the study of God's Word?"

He only is to be called really learned who brings everything to bear upon the truth, and he is best able to defend the faith who knows how to select what is useful in every human art and science. The scholar who can quote examples from Greek and foreign history and philosophy is, in Clement's opinion, like the touchstone which tests the genuine metal. And if such knowledge be necessary in mundane matters, how much more essential is it in celestial themes? Even in Holy Scripture, the ambiguous expressions of the prophets demand an intelligent exposition.

Of course, the Christian is not to practise a shallow and uncertain form of speech, but that style of oratory which instructs and edifies. This is what the Apostle means when he warns us "not to strive about words which are not profitable" (2 Tim. ii. 14), and exhorts us to beware "lest any man spoil us through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

In this passage St. Paul refers not to the true philosophy, but to that false teaching which declared the elements of life superior and anterior to the efficient cause of life—the Creator.

That Apostle, observes Clement, when dealing with the Greeks, always recognized what was true in Greek Philosophy. For example, when he uttered the words "For in Him we live and move and have our being,

as some of your poets have said, 'For we are His offspring'—Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν.

But in the passage which is at present under our consideration, he is speaking of that false philosophy which is after the tradition of men, which worships the elements of life, air, fire, and water, and not the Word, the Creator of life.

For philosophy in general is not to be set aside and rejected, because the Stoics say that the Deity being corporeal pervades the vilest matter, or because the Epicureans banish Providence and exalt Pleasure to the throne of the Universe. Indeed, all schools of philosophy, to a certain extent, are illuminated by the dawn of Light, "The light that, coming into the world, lighteth every man."

The universal mistake of the leaders of the different schools of philosophy is to parade that portion of truth which has fallen to their lot, as if it were the whole truth.

It is right, then, in spite of this general failing, that all should recognize and understand the germs of truth that are to be found in every sect of philosophy.

Here Clement passes in review the different Greek philosophers who have already been mentioned in these papers, and seeks to prove that Paul was acquainted with Greek literature from his quotation :

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί,

which is a well-known hexameter line in Epimenides,

whom Paul describes to Titus as a “prophet” of their own, whose witness is true.

St. Paul does indeed ascribe truth to the Greeks; and it is certain from these quotations, and from that which occurs in the first Epistle to the Corinthian Church—*φθείρουσιν ἡθὴν χρηστὴν ὁμιλίαι κακαί* (“Evil communications corrupt good manners”)—that he had some acquaintance with the noble classics of Greece.

Clement concludes by saying that there are many similar instances of Greek maxims and expressions made use of by the sacred writers, who evidently did not regard these classical authors as altogether false and unprofitable servants of the Lord.

CHAPTER III

JEWISH LAWS AND GREEK PHILOSOPHY—A CONTRAST

WITH all his admiration for that Greek philosophy which he assimilated in the very heart of his teaching, Clement put forward a special plea for the superiority of the Jewish law on the grounds of its greater antiquity and originality.

Clement here commits the fault of comparing a great many things which cannot be compared; for example, Jewish morality and Greek metaphysics, religious feeling and intellectual insight, natural science and philosophic thought. These subjects cannot be compared with one another, for it is only things of a like nature that can be, logically speaking, compared.

We shall now listen to Clement's arguments against the antiquity and originality of the philosophy he loved.

"It is a great mistake," he writes, "to suppose that it is only the Greeks who are acquainted with philosophy, or can philosophize. For most of the founders of

the various Greek schools of thought were foreigners, or 'Barbarians,' as the Greeks would call them. Pythagoras was a Samian, and Thales was a Milesian. They both studied in Egypt, conversing with Chaldean sages, and exploring the ancient science of the country. Plato, likewise, though a true-born son of Hellas, went to Egypt, and found much to learn and admire among the so-called Barbarians. Indeed, philosophy is of great antiquity; it first flourished among the Barbarians, and afterwards it was brought into Greece. Foremost in the ranks of learning stand the Egyptian wise men, the Chaldean sages, the Gaulish Druids, the Persian Magi, and the gymnosophists, or nude philosophers of India."

These latter, Clement writes, are divided into two classes; one class being called the Samanæi, and the other Hylobii, because they lived in the woods. Some of these Indians, he observes, follow the teaching of Buddha, who was deified on account of his personal holiness. But the oldest of all philosophers are those of the heathen race. For example, he bids us look at the antiquity of Moses, and contrast it with the different epochs of Greek philosophy. Moreover, it was Barbarians, not Greeks, who founded the various arts and sciences. For instance, the Egyptians introduced astrology and geometry,¹ the Arabs augury, the Etruscans the trumpet, Cadmus

¹ He might have added Algebra.

letters, the Phrygians the flute, Atlas was the first to build ships; Apis, an Egyptian—not Æsculapius—was the inventor of the healing art. Again, Phrygians discovered iron and the tempering of brass; the Tuscans were the first to mould clay; while the musical art and its instruments, if fable speaks true, were invented and embellished by Mysians, Phrygians, and Lydians, not by Greeks.

After this digression from his subject, Clement again returns to philosophy, and admits that Greek philosophy, whatever be its origin and however partial its light, prepares the way for the royal teaching of Christ. It is a training and discipline, he asserts, that moulds the character and fashions the heart of him who believes in Providence to receive the Truth. Besides, he says, it would be absurd to call philosophy an invention of the devil, seeing that it has been borrowed to a large extent from the Hebrews. In the first place, he takes for granted that it will be admitted by all that the laws and institutions of the Jews are of higher antiquity than the mental and moral science of the Greeks. For Ptolemy, the Egyptian, placed the Exodus of the Israelites in the reign of Amosis, which would correspond with that of Inachus in Argos, an epoch some forty generations previous to the foundation of Athens, the mother of philosophy, by Cecrops.

Then Clement enters into a comparison of dates, to prove that the antiquity of the Hebrew prophets and

historians is greater than that of the Greek poets and writers.

This summary of very dry facts and uninteresting numbers is somewhat relieved by an agreeable discussion on dialects, which, though it has nothing to say to the question, may serve to lighten the labour of working through this chapter.

“Euphorbus,” he says, “and other historians hold that there are seventy-five nations and tongues, because of the statement of Moses, that all the souls that followed Jacob into Egypt were seventy-five: while Plato, the Greek philosopher, says the gods speak in a certain dialect, and that even irrational creatures have a dialect of their own, which is understood by all the members of the *genus*. Thus, when an elephant falls into the mud he bellows out, and some other elephant, which happens to be near, comes at once to his help, bringing others with him. And when a scorpion does not succeed in biting a man, it goes away to collect other scorpions, and these, by forming a chain of their bodies, obstruct the man’s path and bite him. These creatures, according to Clement, use a dialect of their own.”

After these irrelevant remarks, our lecturer counts back to Adam from the death of Commodus, and computes the number of intervening years as amounting to 5784.

This point of time, as already noticed, gives us the probable date of the composition. Commodus died

193 A.D., and these lectures were most probably delivered in the following year, 194 A.D.

Indeed Clement had a weakness for numbers, which is a proof in itself that he must have been trained in the mathematical school of Alexandria. He could not, therefore, desist from some explanation of the two thousand three hundred days mentioned by Daniel the prophet, as destined to elapse before the sanctuary would be cleansed. These two thousand three hundred days, according to him, make up six years and four months, during one-half of which Nero misruled. "And it was half a week;" while during the other half Galba, Otho, and Vitellius disgraced the high office of Emperor. Recent attempts to explain these numbers lend some interest to this very early and equally as rational interpretation of them.

Having now shown the undoubted priority of Moses in point of time, Clement essays to prove the superiority of the law delivered to Moses to that of the Greeks.

But some of his statements are very rash and unscholarly. For instance, it is an almost incredible assertion that Plato was indebted to the writings of Moses. But it is, on the other hand, an excellent interpretation of the law which sees in it not merely an engine for correction and punishment, but also a healthy training and discipline for the soul. For the law was surely given with a view to redeem the character of men, as well as to punish them for their

faults. Therefore, before we open the second volume of these notes, it may be well to pause for a moment to review Clement's position with regard to philosophy.

One of his great statements, to wit, that philosophy owed whatever truth it possessed to divine inspiration, will be admitted by all who accept the utterance of the Master Himself, "I am the Light of the world;" and who recognize the work of God in the education of the race. But the other statement put forward by him, that philosophy was borrowed from the teaching of the Hebrews, is rashly absurd, as any one may see who will take the trouble to compare the Hebrew mind with the Greek. For the Greek intellect was essentially philosophical, being deeply interested in all the problems and questions of life and thought and God. Their mind was peculiarly curious and inquisitive, and delighted in searching out causes and tracing consequences, while arguing from given premises by middle terms to conclusions, and inferring the general from the particular. Syllogism and Induction were their logical modes of reasoning.

But, on the other hand, the Jewish bent of mind was anything but intellectual. It was wholly and solely religious. Their law, their sacrifices, their commandments, truly emphasizing the moral and spiritual fact of *sin*, which finds but feeble expression

in the Greek philosophy ; the manuscripts in which these were set forth, and the various interpretations and expositions of their sacred books, occupied their every thought. God, His Law and His Worship, were to them what Truth and its Investigation were to the Greeks. And as to logic, the Jews had none. Allegory, analogy, and comparison in their system occupy the place of induction, deduction, and definition. The Jewish mind was impressed by types and shadows, which pointed them to antitypes and substances, between which the Greeks would see no logical connection.

It is true that Jewish allegory was blended with Greek reasoning by Origen, but it was an unnatural compound, as his exaggerations and fanciful interpretations amply prove. In fact, there could be nothing whatever in common between two such radically opposite types of mind, one of which was occupied with symbols, and the other with dialectics. Therefore Greek philosophy did not and could not flow from Jewish sources ; although in a great measure, in its undiluted state, it was an expression of the Wisdom of Him—the Word of God—Who manifests Himself “in many parts and in many manners.” “Who is,” wrote Clement, “the teacher of all things born ; the Assessor of God Who knoweth all things beforehand ? Verily He, from the foundation of the world, in many ways and many parts has been engaged in educating and

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bringing to perfection the race of man." It was much that Clement understood this.

In another part of the *Stromateis*, Clement makes the true remark that Philosophy was to the Hellenes what the Law was to the Hebrews—a preparatory discipline leading to Christ.

CHAPTER IV

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE AS RELATED TO EACH OTHER IN CLEMENT'S SYSTEM

WE shall now glance hurriedly over the stray notes of the second volume of the *Stromateis*. They are chiefly on the subject of faith and repentance. In the first place, Clement shows that the knowledge of God can only be attained through faith, quoting Isaiah : "Except ye believe, neither shall ye understand:" whereas it was the constant practice of the Gnostics, Basilides and Valentinus, to set faith at nought, as being a useless quantity ; but our Clement put it forward in the very front of the battle as the foundation of all knowledge. For it is, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews said, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

In one passage he seems to say that this faith is not established by demonstration, quoting the words of the Master : "Blessed therefore are those who, not having seen, have yet believed." And yet he implies,

throughout the whole treatise, that faith is not a blind choice, but a rational volition.

How are we to reconcile these apparently contradictory statements?

The task may not perhaps be as hard as it seems. For Clement says that faith apprehends the first principles. Now it is a well-known fact and an oft-repeated maxim, that first principles are not capable of demonstration.

Faith, then, according to Clement, is not to be established by demonstration, moving as it does in a higher sphere, apprehending the first cause of the Universe, soaring into a higher plane than practical wisdom, and comprehending the eternal realities, the unchanging basis of change.

It is easy to see, therefore, that *faith* occupies the same place in the theology of Clement that *νοῦς* or intuition holds in the metaphysical system of Aristotle.¹

It is a spiritual instinct, a ghostly intuition instilled in men by the unceasing Word of Truth. In this sense, faith is higher than knowledge, which is of things that can be demonstrated. For *faith* alone

¹ *Vide Nicomachean Ethics*, Book VII. chap. vi., where it is shown to be the province of *Noûs* to take in first principles (*ἀρχαί*). This is a general statement, for it is true that in some passages Clement used the word *faith* in the sense of *Creed*: e. g. in *Stromateis*, vii. 732, where he says, "The first saving change from heathenism is faith, that is, a compendious knowledge of all that is necessary to salvation."

can apprehend God. To use Clement's own words : "Neither can God be apprehended by demonstrative science, for such science is from things precedent and more knowable, whereas nothing exists before that which is self-existent." ¹

Consequently the first cause of the Universe can be grasped by Faith alone.

In this way Clement placed knowledge² on the basis of faith, in apparent opposition to the teaching of the Gnostics of the city of Alexandria, who treated the blind faith of the unreasoning multitudes with the greatest contempt, and held out promises of a deeper and inner knowledge of religion to the more thoughtful classes.

But Clement's faith was not a mere blind, unquestioning belief founded on authority, but the highest faculty of the transcendental reason engaged in questions that lie beyond the sphere of sense and the

¹ In another sense he gives the superiority to knowledge, by which he means the knowledge which is reached by and perfected through faith, *i.e.* the true gnosis of the true gnostic. For he says in the *Stromateis*, vi. 795 : "But knowledge implies more than belief ; just as it is more than salvation to receive the highest honour after salvation ;" and in *Stromateis*. vii. 795, we read : "The first change is from heathendom to faith ; the second from faith to knowledge, and the third to love."

² *Str.* vii. 732. Gnosis is the strong and stable demonstration of the things received by faith, erected on the foundations of faith, through the doctrine of our Lord, by which faith is raised to a certainty of science.

realm of experience. Nor did he regard faith as sufficient by itself. He would have science employed in the service of faith. "If we wish to get any fruit from the vine," he says, "we must work, by pruning, digging, and training, and must employ the hook, the hoe, and other implements used in the culture of the vine."

KNOWLEDGE.

Nor is Clement's *gnosis* a mere intellectual doctrine, but it is a "divine science" which by reason of faith must express itself in the life (*Strom.* ii. 381).

"Thus knowing and living here become one." True *gnosis*, then, is that spiritual wisdom which springs from a spiritual insight into the Being of God, and manifests itself in spirituality of the life.

Thus we have three fair flowers growing on one stem—Faith, Wisdom, and Life. And this combination of three divine principles throws a new light on the mysterious words: "It is eternal life to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

Now the knowledge is given to those who are worthy of it, as a deposit, on the principle that "to him that hath shall be given." Thus "to faith shall be added knowledge, and to knowledge love, and to love the inheritance."

"Faith is, then, so to speak, a comprehensive knowledge of the essentials, and knowledge is the strong

and sure demonstration of what is received by faith and built upon faith by the Lord's teaching, which conducts the soul to certainty, science, and understanding" (*Strom.* vii. 732). Thus from one step to another we ascend in this ladder of discipline, until perfect gnoseis are reached by the student and blended together in his life.

THE TRUE Gnostic.

Finally, Clement illustrates the manner in which these two principles, faith and knowledge, become harmonized in the Gnostic, the real Christian, and work together for his good. Such a one begins as a pupil of the Lord, and an eager and believing student in spiritual things. Then he grows in the knowledge of God, and of His Will, until gradually advancing in the comprehension of the essences and the things *per se*, he is able to bring his soul to what is essential, and to see a general principle in a particular precept, and a universal idea in a single instance: in a word, to read, with the help of the illuminating presence of the Word, the facts of God, human life and thought as they really are, not as they seem to be.

Sin therefore has no seducing influence over him, because he sees in it its true nature as disease. Death has no terror for him who regards it as a necessity of creation which cannot affect him.

He hates no one who has wronged him, but rather

pities him on account of his ignorance, and because of the love for his Master that fills his own soul.

His one thought is to attain to completeness of knowledge, and so he can afford to despise the good as well as the bad things of the world.

He is serene and courteous, but strong to resist temptation. He is a man without passions, having transcended the whole life of emotion. He is rationally brave and self-controlled, and so is master of himself, and able to make use of the opportunity, because he loves God, and is counted a friend of God, and because his life is spent in prayer and converse with his Heavenly Father.

Truly this character-drawing is very like the description of the wise man of the Stoics, and is indeed to a large extent borrowed from that classical ideal.

The Christian saint, however, had an incalculable advantage over the pagan sage, by reason of his possession of the true motive-power of the soul, the true standard of human action, and the true goal of human effort.

CHAPTER V

CLEMENT AND THE Gnostics

CLEMENT's declared purpose in compiling the *Stromateis* was, to describe the true Gnostic, and to guard his pupils from the misrepresentations of the pseudo-Gnostics, of whom he mentions Valentinus, Basileides, Cassianus, Marcion, Prodicus and Heraclion.

As a general rule the teachers of Alexandria made the Word,¹ or the Wisdom of God, the subject of their discussions. By Him they imagined that they had been chosen to proclaim God to the world, and from Him they believed that all the wisdom of the Gentiles had come.

Among the great preachers of the Gospel we find Apollos of Alexandria, "an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts xviii. 24), who for a season was the successful rival of St. Paul in Corinth. We can trace the influence of Alexandrian thought,

St. John claimed these truths for Christianity when he affirmed that the Word was with God, and that the Word was God, and that all light was from Him.

notably its distinction between the letter and the spirit in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Barnabas, and in the Gospel according to the Egyptians, a work that was most probably used by Coptic Christians who were not of Jewish connection.

We also find reminiscences of the Christian philosophy of Alexandria in the lately discovered Logia (so-called) which have been unearthed with many other documents at Oxyrhynchus. One of these sayings has a distinctly Encratite¹ ring. It runs so—“Except ye fast in regard to the world, ye shall not find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath rightly (lit. sabbatize the Sabbath), ye shall not see the Father.”

We have also the conception of the omnipresent Christ in the two sayings: “I stepped into the midst of the world, and in the flesh I appeared unto them;” and “Raise the stone and thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and I am there.”

The Gnostic teachers of Alexandria, concerning whom Clement is our best authority, gave the city an important position in the world of letters. One of the first of these was Basileides, who belongs to the reigns of Hadrian (117—138 A.D.) and Antonius Pius. According to Epiphanius, Syria, the native land of the Gnostic systems, was his birthplace.

¹ The Encratites were a sect of Egyptian ascetics of the second century, who abstained from marriage, wine, and animal food.

Basileides himself mentioned Glaucus, a scribe of St. Peter, as his teacher; while some of his followers boasted that Matthias, the apostle, was their founder.

This philosopher believed that the knowledge of God was the highest blessing which man can attain, and that he was intended to reach it. He therefore sought to construct a system of the knowledge of God.

But he defeated his own purpose, by making the God whom he desired to know, a mere portion of his system; and by treating the Word or Wisdom of God as but one of the many agencies* (Dynamis) that acted upon men, and but one of the many faculties by which man apprehended God. God became more and more indistinct and shadowy to him who regarded Him as some vague abstraction, a certain *Pleroma* or Fulness, and looked upon the cross as a fiction. Although we have reason to believe that the seeker was honest, he ended exactly where he began in the search for knowledge.

The morality of Basileides leaves little to be desired. He respected marriage and recommended some men to marry, and is not, therefore, to be held accountable for the perversions and excesses of his followers; some of whom went so far as to say that they were born to salvation and must be saved, no matter how they lived.

Such a deduction from his father's system Isidorus his son repudiated with all his heart. Still the Zoro-

astrian distinction between the kingdom of Ahriman and Ormuzd,—which are thus described by the Persian Bundehesch : —

“Ormuzd is the light ;
The light is without beginning ;
Ormuzd is on high,
Ormuzd is Holy,
Ormuzd hath all knowledge.
Ahriman is in darkness ;
This darkness is without beginning ;
Ahriman is in the depths ;
Ahriman delighteth in strife ;
Ahriman hath only a derived knowledge ”—

was so fundamental to his philosophy, that Clement had some reason for his accusation that Basileides “deified the devil.”

Valentinus,¹ another Gnostic philosopher, to whom there are numerous references in Clement’s works, lived in Alexandria at a somewhat later date than Basileides. He is said to have been the pupil of Theudas, the disciple of Paul, and was evidently an Egyptian, to judge from his turn of mind.

He was greatly struck by the fact that the universe seems to be made up of pairs (Syzygies, he called them). Proceeding on the dictum of Solomon, “God has set one thing over against another,” he sought

¹ Clement says that Heracleon was the most famous of the Valentinian School, and quotes his Comment on Luke xii. 8—11.

Origen cites Heracleon’s ‘Commentary on St. John’s Gospel’ which with several other fragments has been recently edited in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*.

these "pairs" in every place, and believed he found them.

His theology was rather absurd in form. Buthos and Depth, the term under which he spoke of God, conveys nothing to our minds but the impossibility of sounding the depths of that Godhead. His genealogies of the æons, the spiritual essences by which man was enabled to reach God in this system, only serve at the present day to puzzle Divinity students.

Marcion was another Gnostic who engaged the attention of Clement. Though the son of the bishop of Sinope, he imagined he could find no solution of the great problems that his mind entertained in his father's faith. For the world, which to Valentinus was full of "pairs," seemed to him to be full of contrasts of good and evil, while Christianity appeared to be nothing but a mixture of opposites, law and grace, mercy and forgiveness.

But of him we shall speak at greater length in another place.

Carpocrates, another famous teacher who lived in Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian (130 A.D. *circ.*), was not impressed so much by the correspondences or contradictions in the universe, as he was by the equality of God's dealings with man. He was a leveller who, instead of trying to raise men to a higher platform, succeeded in degrading them to a lower by his system.

The Carpocrateans, as Irenæus tells us in his *Refuta-*

tion of the Gnostics, were the first Gnostics to call themselves so. The founder of the sect was a Pantheist holding that there was one supreme being, the Monad, the highest unity, from whom all existence has emanated, and to which everything strives to return. Neander compares this system with that of Buddha, and states a number of parallels that are to be found in the doctrines of these teachers. Carpocrates as an Antinomian used a very bad influence, teaching that faith and love are everything, while conduct is a matter of indifference. Irenæus tells us that his followers believed it to be a duty to go through all sorts of actions. It is among them that we find the first representations of the Saviour's human form.

Clement throws an interesting light on the teaching of Tatian¹ and the sect of the Encratites. Tatian, a stranger from Assyria, had set up as a teacher of rhetoric in Rome, where he was brought under the influence of Justin Martyr, and professed Christianity. After the death of his master, 164 A.D., he lapsed back into the Gnostic philosophy (Eusebuis, *H.E.* iv. 29). Clement tells us that Tatian belonged to the anti-Jewish Gnostics, and that he transferred the distinction

¹ The author of the *Diatessaron*, the first harmony of the gospels. Ephraim's commentary on this book has been recently discovered. Eusebius tells us (*H. E.* iv. 29) that "Tatian composed a certain connection and bringing together of the gospels, and gave it the name of *Diatessaron*. This work is current to this day."

that Paul makes between the old and the new man to the relation of the Old and New Testament.

In his systems of Morals he may be said to have formulated, although it cannot be said that he invented, the tenets of the Encratites. His principal doctrine was, that true perfection could only be reached by the imitation of Christ, especially in regard to celibacy and the renunciation of worldly possessions. Clement's answer to those who make such statements is worth recording. "They understand not," he says, "the reason why our Lord was unmarried. For in the first place He had His own bride, the Church, and in the next place He was distinct from other men in this, that His nature was complete; nor was it necessary that He who is eternal, and the Son of God, should have issue of His body."

In Julius Cassianus, another teacher mentioned by Clement (*Strom.* i. 320), we find traces of the Alexandrian Jewish philosophy. Cassianus had only the Gospel according to the Egyptians. On it he based several of his opinions. Cassianus regarded Adam as the type of a soul that had been degraded from the heavenly condition to the material world, and held that it was man's duty to win the mastery over matter by means of ascetic discipline. Accordingly he denied that Christ had appeared in bodily form among men. This was the view of the Docetæ, among whom Cassianus was looked upon as a leader.

Clement in the *Stromateis* shows us how this teacher attempted, by means of his allegorical method of exegesis, to find his ideas in the Old Testament.

Gnosticism, however, was not merely the hot-bed of heresy, it had its true side. It was a search after the knowledge of God. Following this clue, we shall be led safely through these mischievous though ingenious doctrines until we come to the true teaching of the Word of God, which our Clement found in his pursuit of truth. To him that Logos or Word was no mere *æon* or *agency*, but the Son of the Father, who had taken upon Himself to educate the Spirit of man, to prize it, and to lead it to the knowledge of Him in Whose image it was made, and after Whose likeness it was intended to grow; and Who, in order to reveal this Father, and display a new ideal to man, became flesh, died, and was raised again.

Clement followed the same thread of thought in all his works. God is seeking His creatures—this was the foundation-principle of his system which he read in the fables and philosophies of the heathen, wherein he saw abundant proof of God's presence among His people, and of His action on the human heart in drawing it into the search after the real, the substantial, and the true.

"A great and glorious search Clement thought it was," wrote the late Rev. F. D. Maurice in his *Lectures on Church History*, "worthy the labour of a life or of many lives. He had pursued it as a heathen in the

schools of Greece ; he eagerly sought the helps which Jewish or heathen sages could afford him in Egypt, but when he received the doctrine of the Cross, another and more wonderful truth flashed upon him—God knew him. . . . This was no new discovery, it was an old one. . . . That truism may become the very centre of a man's thoughts and hopes ; it may change the positions and relations of all objects to him ; it may at first revolutionize his being ; ultimately it may set in order all that had been disturbed and inverted there. So I think it was with Clement : he could perceive how St. Paul speaks of the *γνώσις* or *πρόγνωσις* of God, and of our *ἐπίγνωσις* of Him ; the one answers to the other. He apprehends us that we may apprehend Him. It is in His light that we must see light."

Thus it was, that the abortive efforts of his predecessors were followed by the success of Clement in disentangling the threads of truth from the complications of Oriental imagery and Grecian sophistry. And so in Alexandria, at the end of the second century, we find the light in its full-orbed radiance which in the beginning of that century was veiled in the mists of invention and superstition,

CHAPTER VI

CLEMENT'S THEORY OF GOD

THE theology of the nineteenth century has many features in common with that of the second. Perhaps the most important point of resemblance is this, that it was the tendency of the early age as it is of the present, to recognize the Immanence or Indwelling of God in the Universe, without, at the same time, identifying or confounding the Creator with His Creation, God with the Universe.

This was, of course, a reaction from the other and opposite tendency to banish God from His Creation, and to introduce a scale of intermediaries between Him and His creatures; a view of the Heavenly Father which is crystallized in the Roman system, in which He is approached by Saints, Angels, and the Blessed Virgin, as well as by the One Mediator.

In the days of Clement, however, it was rather the philosophical idea of the Gnostics than any religious conception that the Christian apologist had to deal with.

Indeed, it may be said to be an almost universal

instinct in the natural man to shrink from the presence of God, especially when his conscience is guilty, and his sense of uncleanness has been awakened. And this is amply proved in the religion of Buddha, whose sense of the evil of life was so keen, that it was for him the acme of human perfection to lose the desire to live on earth, and to be absorbed in an unconscious Absolute after death, when neither good nor bad consequences might disturb the dreamful ease.

This natural instinct is also exemplified in the philosophy of the Epicureans, who removed the gods from the world, and relegated them to a space between the worlds (*intermundia*), where they dwelt free from all anxiety and thought about men; as the easy-going Horace, whose words have been quoted on page 95, flippantly expresses it.

Moreover, in the system of Plato, the Demiurgos, or Creator of the Universe, is conceived as existing before and outside the beautiful cosmos, the fashions being both pre-cosmical and extra-cosmical. He is a personal agent, but having finished His work, He retires from the scene of life, leaving the world to be peopled and managed by secondary gods, especially created for this purpose, and by its own Soul.

For Plato regarded the Universe as one vast living organism, no part of which can be conceived but in reference to the whole, and the whole of which is unthinkable apart from the members.

The careful student will notice that Plato attributes to the soul of the Universe, and to the gods that dwell therein, the work of the Word in the Christian system.

This idea of a pre-existing Creator (Demiurgos) found little favour with the Greek schools of philosophy, but was greatly welcomed by the Jews of Alexandria, from Aristobulus¹ (150 B.C.) to Philo, who flourished 40 A.D.

It was a meeting-point between Greek and Jewish thought. The Jews saw their Jahveh (wrongly spelt Jehovah) in the great Demiurgos of Plato, and the pagan gods in the lesser divinities. So much so, that some of them asserted that Plato had taken this idea from the Pentateuch. And even Eusebius, in his history, calls Plato the "atticizing Moses;" *i. e.* Moses writing in Attic Greek.

We have already met and answered this charge against Plato, made however as a compliment rather than as a censure. Indeed it was a trite saying in the schools of Alexandria that the Greeks had been taught theology by the Hebrews.

Aristobulus, who wrote 150 years before the Christian era, maintained that Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and other Greek philosophers, owed all their wisdom to a translation of the Pentateuch. And, indeed, no Jew could be anything but pleased with the lofty moral tone and grand conception of the One God put forth in the *Timæus* of Plato, which formed a stage

¹ *Vide Grote's Plato*, vol. iv. p. 256.

of transition from polytheism to monotheism in philosophy.

It is no wonder, then, that we meet with the elements of Platonic thought in the schools of Alexandria. These are not, indeed, pure and unalloyed, but blended with other elements derived from every religion and philosophy under the sun.

For the philosophy of the new Athens consisted of the mysterious lore of Egypt, the elaborate theories of Chaldea and Persia, Grecian mythology, Buddha's pale philosophy, Jewish tradition, and Christian doctrine fused into one inharmonious whole.

This method of forming a system of philosophy or religion by selecting what is most commendable to one in the theories of other philosophers, is called the eclectic; and the particular system, which was supposed to embrace all that was known about God, was called the Gnostic.

GNOSTICISM AND THE INCARNATION.

According to the Gnostics, matter and everything connected with it is evil. God, therefore, Who is the Supreme Good, cannot be associated with it in any way. He dwells from all eternity in the *pleroma*, or fulness of light; and between Him and man a system of intermediaries was introduced to save Him from contamination by matter.

Needless to say, in this system there was no room for a Son of God who was also a Son of Man. For

either the Godhead or Manhood would have to be sacrificed. Either Jesus was a mere man upon whom the man Christ descended at His baptism, or else the body of Christ was unreal and visionary. Such was the Gnostics' theory of the Incarnation, and their theory of the Redemption was like unto it.

Matter being evil, man required to be delivered from his animal nature, his fleshly prison. Certain of the Gnostics sought to secure this deliverance by an ascetic discipline, while others¹ affected to show a contemptuous mastery over their bodies by reckless immorality.

How unlike the teaching of the divine Master! must be the comment of every true believer. How much superior to all this vague philosophy is the real truth of the Word ever present in the life of the world, so beautifully expressed in the Breastplate Hymn, the *Lorica* of Ireland's patron saint:

Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in breadth, Christ in length,
Christ in height.

Patrick and Clement drew their inspiration from the same source—the preface to the Gospel of St. John. The inspiration of these noble words is to be found in the opening chapters of the Gospel of Light.

¹ The Carpocratians.

"There was the True Light, the light that lighteth every man, coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. But to as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name : which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word became flesh and tabernacled among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the Only-Born of the Father " (St. John i. 9-12).

In these words the Apostle sums up the glorious doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, Who was truly man and truly God, Who made the world, Who is the ever-present source of progress and continuance in the world, and Who is also the indwelling fountain of light in the human soul.

St. Paul, too, speaks of God "energizing in us both to will and to do for His good pleasure."

The key then to understand the mysteries of life, its evil and its pain, that perplexed the Gnostic, is faith in the ever-present Christ, immanent in every form of life, while at the same time transcending it.

This key Clement applied so faithfully that at last he began to see a new meaning in every expression of life, in every struggle of the race, in every effort of man. For him, therefore, the distinction between natural and revealed religion was

a vanishing quantity. Every good thought, every good wish, every good deed, was rightly held by him to be due to the presence of the only Good—that is God.

Whatever good there was to be found in any system of religion or philosophy, he traced back to the influence—exhibited in a less degree perhaps—of the same Divine Wisdom that spake in the days of old to patriarch and prophet in many fragments and in many ways. God in Christ was ever in the world, educating man, now by new trials, now by new light, until the time was ripe for the fuller revelation of God among men when the Word became flesh.

Accordingly he saw in philosophy a system divinely ordered to bring men to the wisdom of Christ, just as Paul saw in the Law a method of divine discipline intended to usher men into the fuller light of the righteousness of Christ.

And in the punishments and chastisements that follow after sin, Clement discerned a loving hand moulding and shaping the human soul, evolving what is divine in man, sometimes indeed by stern methods, not however with a view to hurt, but to heal, just as a surgeon amputates and cauterizes, not from any ill-will to the patient, but because he desires to save his life.

Thus reading a beneficent purpose in the law, the

¹ This thought has been nobly expressed by the late Lord Tennyson in the following poem, entitled *The Making of Man*—

end of which, according to St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 5), is "charity out of a pure heart," Clement was able to reconcile the love and the justice of God, and to answer the arguments of Marcion.

This Marcion had started with the principle that the love of God is not to be reconciled with his punitive justice, as it would involve a schism in the divine nature. He then came to the conclusion that the God of the Christians was not the same God as the Jahveh of the Jews. In fact, he taught that the God of the Jews was an inferior God Who stirred up the minds and passions of the Jews against the Messiah Who was sent by the supreme God to save men from His severity. Marcion elaborated and formulated these opinions in a work which he named *Antitheses*, or Contrasts.

In this book he essayed to prove that the principles of the Old Testament were inconsistent with the character of love and mercy which our Saviour bears in the New.

"Where is one that born of woman altogether can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger or of ape?
Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning age of ages,
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?
All about him shadow still, but while the races flower and
fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker, 'It is finished': 'man is made.'"

On the other hand, Clement had laid down as the basis of his theology, the sound principle that God is the God of the Gentile as well as of the Jew.

From this point of view, the Old Testament describes the educational process of the human race in general and the Jew in particular, by the Divine Instructor, Jesus Christ, Who of necessity adapted His method of treatment to the needs of man, in order to prepare all men for the full-orbed revelation of Himself which He was afterwards to give in His incarnate Person.

Thus Clement¹ saw love where Marcion saw only severity, and a wise beneficence where Marcion only beheld the rigour of the law. Consequently for the Alexandrian teacher there could be no schism in the divine nature of Him "Who works all things up to what is better."

The secret of this staunch fidelity to the moral character of God has been well set forth in Dr. Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 69, where we read the following excellent summary of Clement's teaching: "It was Clement's peculiar merit that he kept himself so free from entanglement with mere opinions. He never lost sight of the distinction between God as the great reality and all human

¹ Clement concludes his noble address to the Trinity (*Pæd.* iii. 312) with a noble tribute to the goodness of God: "The Good in every respect, the Beautiful in every respect, the Wise in every respect, the Just in every respect."

speculations about Him. In his own words, 'There is a difference between declaring God and declaring things about God.' To declare God was the ruling purpose of his life. He held, or rather was held by, a supreme conviction, that God and humanity were bound together in one through Christ; that God did not leave men to themselves in the search after Him, but was for ever going forth in Christ to seek after men and to lead 'them unto life.' " The knowledge of such a God came from a deeper source than man's intellect according to Clement. For he expressly declared the impossibility of an *à priori* demonstration of His existence. "God," he wrote, "is the most difficult subject to handle; for since the principle of everything is hard to find out, the first and most ancient principle, which is the cause to all other things of their being made and of their continuance when made, must needs be hard to discover." In the system of Clement, the knowledge of God would be an intuition to the conscience, or a divine deliverance to the soul of man from the Word, revealing Himself and His existence. It is God Who finds us, not we who find God; as Augustine (*Conf.* x. 6) puts it: "Thou hast smitten my heart with Thy word, and I have learned to love Thee."

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSONALITY OF THE WORD— DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS

THUS Clement succeeded in defending and restoring to the Church the true conception of the Deity. He also freed the Christian doctrine of the Logos, the Reason and the Word of God, the personal Teacher of men and the personal Wisdom of the Father, from the Alexandrian quibble of a distinction between the Reason¹ indwelling, and the Reason uttered,² in a word, between Truth and its manifestation.

He firmly believed that the Logos is the Truth of God in the person of His Son, manifested to man, and not merely a manifestation of the Truth of God, as the Neo-Platonists held.

This school of thought, which was very popular with the Alexandrian Christians, erroneously conceived the Logos or Reason to be an emanation, an influence that radiates from God. It was from this root that the so-called Sabellian heresy sprang. Some

¹ ἐνδιδέσας.

² προφορικῶς.

fifty years after this work (the *Stromateis*) was written, Sabellius, a native of Ptolemais in Egypt, ventured to apply this theory of emanations,¹ which reduces the Person of the Saviour and the Person of the Spirit to the rank of divine influences, to the doctrine of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Three Persons and One God.

It was very necessary then that Clement should prove, that the Logos was a Divine Person to those who were accustomed to regard him merely in the light of an influence proceeding from God.

It was also very essential to maintain the great truth, that the Logos (Word) is of the same substance with the Father, in the presence of those who had been brought up in the Jewish school of Philo, and had been taught to believe that "The Absolute Being, the Father Who had begotten all things, gave an especial grace to the Archangel and First-Born Word, that standing between, He might sever the creature from the Creator. The same is ever the Intercessor for the dying mortal before the Immortal God, and the Ambassador from the Ruler to the subject. He is neither without beginning of days, as God is, nor is He begotten, as we are, but is something between these extremes, being connected with both" (Philo, *Q. R. D. H.*, 42, p. 501).²

And Clement succeeded in doing this, in spite of

¹ This theory of Sabellius was condemned in Rome, 263 A.D.

² *Vide* Ritter and Preller, *Greek Philosophy*, p. 497.

opposition from Jew and Gentile alike. Just as he refuted the Gnostic idea of a distant deity, by strenuously maintaining that there is a real and constant presence of the Incarnate Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, in the world and in the life of man, so he maintained with all the vigour of his intellect and the intensity of his nature, the distinct Personality of the Son and the Godhead of the Word of God.

In this connection we may observe that Clement has a short but comprehensive passage on the Evidences of Christ and Christianity in the sixth book of the *Stromateis* (p. 802), where we read : "The prophecies which preceded and announced His coming, the testimonies concerning Him which accompanied His appearance in the flesh, and also His deeds of power (*δυνάμεις*) which were proclaimed and openly manifested after his Assumption, are proof (*σημείον*) that He our Saviour is the Son of God." Having thus established the divinity of the Saviour by this threefold line of evidence—prophecy, testimony, and miracle—Clement reasons from this divinity of the Teacher to the truth of His doctrine : "The fact that the Son of God Himself taught it is proof positive (*τεκμήριον*) that the Truth is with us. For if in every question these general principles are wanted; person (*persona*), and fact (*res*), that which is really the truth is only to be found among us. For the *person* of the truth which is shown is the Son of God,

and the fact is the power of faith¹ which overcomes everything that opposes it, no matter what it is—aye, the whole world itself, when against it. And since this has been confessedly established by *eternal deeds and words*, it is apparent that he is worthy of punishment, not merely of contradiction, who does not believe in providence; and he is really an atheist.”² According to Clement, then, Christianity was no longer even in his day a subject of discussion: it was manifest to the reason and the eye of man; it no longer depended wholly and solely for its verification upon the prophecy, testimonies, or miracles of the past, but also upon the present proofs of its reality, the growth of the Church, and the victory of the faith—the true facts of Christ which are the highest evidences of the truth of His Person.

¹ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πίστεως ἡ καὶ παντὸς οὐτινισσοῦν ἐναντιούμενου καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄλου ἐνισταμένου τοῦ κόσμου πλεονάζουσα (*Strom.* p. 802). Cf. Pliny's letter to Trajan (104 A.D.): “there are many of every age and of both sexes, nor has this superstition spread merely to the cities (*i.e.* of Pontus and Bithynia), but to the smaller towns and the whole country.”

² Compare Aristotle, *Topic* i. c. 11. “It is not right to debate every proposition or every thesis; but such as might present a difficulty to one who requires not punishment or perception, but reason. For they who question the moral necessity of worshipping the Gods or of loving one's parents need punishment.”

CHAPTER VIII

CLEMENT'S THEORIES OF THE WORLD AND MAN— COSMOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY— THE WORLD—

HAVING thus vindicated the Creator against those who sought to disparage or detract from His character and power, Clement now proceeds to assert the Divine wisdom and beneficence, as manifested in the Divine work—the world. For, according to his old antagonists the Gnostics, the world was extremely evil, and its existence was the result of chance. On the contrary, Clement stoutly contended the world was “very good.” To him it was, in a double sense, sacred. First, as being a Divine creation, the abode of indwelling Deity; and then as being the sphere of man’s discipline, for which it was especially prepared.

“For the economy of all things,” he writes, “is good, and all things are well ordered; nothing happens without a cause. ‘I must be in what is Thine, Almighty God, and if I am, then I am close to Thee.’

"Nor are the elect, whoever they may be, strangers to the world.

"Neither do they attain their salvation by renouncing the love of life, and the earthly blessings God bestows upon all.

"For all things are of one God, and no one is a stranger in the world."

Here is a true note. Clement was an optimist. And naturally so, because he believed in God,¹ not in a blind Fate, and because he believed in the goodness of that God's work. For surely what God saw was good (Genesis i. 31), can only seem vile to man when He imputes the flaw that is in his own eye to the things he sees. For as the old adage runs: "All seems yellow to the jaundiced eye."

There is a magnificent passage on the Overruling Providence of God in the first Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 370), which begins thus: "All things are ordered from above with a view to what is right,² that the manifold wisdom of God may be known through the Church according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord; for nothing opposes or is contrary to God, Who is Lord and

¹ With Tennyson he would have affirmed his faith in

"That God which ever lives and loves,
One God, one Law, one Element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole Creation moves."

In Memoriam.

² πάντα μὲν οὖν οἰκονομεῖται ἑνωθεν εἰς καλόν.

Omnipotent. Nay even the counsels and operations of those who have revolted, though only partial, arise from a bad disposition as the diseases of the body, but are guided by the Universal Providence to a healthy issue, though the cause be bad. It is therefore the grandest work of the Divine Providence that it does not allow the evil which has arisen from a voluntary defection to remain useless and unprofitable, much less injurious in every respect. For it is the work of the divine wisdom and virtue and power not merely to benefit (for this is so to speak the nature of God, just as it is of fire to warm and light to illumine), but this is His work above all, the bringing to a good and useful termination what has been planned by certain evil minds, and turning to advantage seeming evils." ¹

A strong healthy tone pervades the whole of Clement's writings. In proof of this assertion it will suffice to quote the two short passages: "Salome asked until what time must death prevail, not as if life were evil or the creature bad" (*Strom.* iii. 532); and, "for birth is a creation of the Almighty, who will never lead the

¹ τὸ διὰ κακῶν τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων πρὸς τινων ἀγαθὸν τι καὶ χρηστὸν τέλος ἀποτελεῖν καὶ ὠφελίμως τοῖς δοκοῦσι φαύλοις χρῆσθαι (*Strom.* i. 312). For the opposite sentiment, see *Paradise Lost*, i. 168, Satan's speech:

"If then His Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil."

soul from a better to a worse condition" (*Strom.* iii. 554).

Clement, however, seems to take a slightly too rose-coloured view of life,¹ and to ignore some of those facts of nature which make some people doubt whether it is indeed by love exclusively that all things are carried on.

For such an arrangement we must admit is not immediately evident to one who has studied the development of natural life,² and knows something of the cruelty and injustice that characterize the world of sentient life. Of course this all can be explained on the Christian principle, or if not exactly explained can be proved to be no result of want of love in the Author of Nature.

Clement does, however, seem to refer to this "groaning" of nature (Rom. viii. 22), in one passage where he says: "and these too (*i.e.* the angels, principalities, and powers) will be delivered from the vanity of the world in the manifestation of the sons of God;" but, generally speaking, he ignored that

¹ ὅς οὐκ ἔν ποτε ἐξ ἀμεινόνων εἰς τὰ χειρῶν κατάγοι ψυχὴν (*Strom.* i. 312).

² Mill said: "Nature does a million times every minute every act almost for which (if man did it) man would be considered justly to deserve capital punishment." Tennyson has the same thought in *Maud*:

"For nature is one with rapine, a harm no preacher can heal,

The whole little wood where I sit is a world of plunder and prey."

dark side of things which is a trial of our faith in God.

MAN.

We now turn to Clement's anthropology, or doctrine of man.

With regard to man, Clement does not consider that the Fall of man completely severed the son's connection with his Father, and that this connection had to be made anew in the person of Jesus Christ.

When discussing the state and destiny of man, he seems to take as his text the words of God in Genesis i. 26: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," which contain what Dr. Westcott has so happily termed the Gospel of the Creation. The Incarnation accordingly appeared to Clement to be a full-orbed revelation of the relationship between God and man, a relationship that had ever existed, but was for a time obscured by ignorance and sin. In the light of this Incarnation humanity is shown to be originally connected with the Creator, and so capable of and destined for eternal life. Clement's view then is that Christ redeems man from the power and impurity of sin by illuminating his soul and educating his spirit, giving to him the true gnosis, which is a knowledge of God as He is manifested in Christ, not merely that knowledge of the facts about God which satisfied the Gnostics; while salvation is an ethical growth, and is attained by following out

the divinely-appointed law of life ; in a word, by working out the principles of moral being. As we shall have to enter more fully into Clement's theories of our nature when discussing his Soteriology, we shall now proceed to give our readers the following account of Clement's Gospel of the Incarnation.

CHAPTER IX

CLEMENT'S GOSPEL OF THE INCARNATION

IN the 28th chapter of the fifth book of his *Church History*, Eusebius of Cæsarea quotes from a book of an unknown author,¹ a passage in which honourable mention is made of Clement, as well as of others who upheld the divinity of our Lord against the heresy which affirmed that He was merely man. "For who is not aware," the passage proceeds, "of the books of Irenæus and Melito,² and the others, which proclaim the deity and humanity of Christ? And how many psalms and hymns of the brethren (*i. e.* Christians) composed by faithful men vindicate the divinity of the Word of God, the Christ, in song!"

The writer of this passage may have had in his

¹ Nicephorus calls this work the *Labyrinthus*, and Photius in his *Bibliotheca* says that Gaius was the author of it, and that 'This Gaius was, as they say, a presbyter of the Church at Rome, and composed another discourse particularly against the heresy of Artemon.'

² Bishop of Sardis, a copious writer, frequently mentioned by Eusebius.

mind the hymn of Clement on the Word which we venture to render thus :—

“ Oh, King of the pure ones,
Triumphant Word
Of the Father Supreme,
Great Wisdom's Lord.
Thou stay of our labours,
Eternal Grace,
O Jesu Redeemer
Of human race.
Fisher of mortal men
Eager to save
Out of the tide of ill,
Out of the grave,
All snatched from jaws of death
Thou dost beguile,
By charm of life to leave
The devil's wile.”

The expression the Word, or the Logos, of which Clement made such frequent use, was very familiar to all classes of Christians in his day in Alexandria, but especially to the students of the University who had to study the works of Plato and Philo.

The Incarnation of the Word, in Clement's system, was the crown and consummation of creation. This view of life as a whole, greatly influenced Clement's opinion on man. Man, according to him, was created to serve God. From heaven the soul is sent, and yearns to return to God, its own true home. But for such a destiny it must be prepared by different stages in spiritual and intellectual education, through which

the great Instructor, Who desires to raise man to God and to complete the image in the likeness of God, leads us.

This work of salvation is bound to be a gradual one. From faith one must pass to love, and then to knowledge, which is at first imperfect, but when the affections have been mastered, and the eye of the soul is purified, reaches its perfection in the contemplation of God.

Our guide to this knowledge, the Word of God, Clement says, "is called a pearl, being the pellucid and pure Jesus, the everseeing and supervising eye in the flesh, the transparent Word, through whom the flesh, regenerated in the water, becomes of great price" (1 *Pæd.* ii. c. xii.). Under His guidance the Christian life is one grand struggle to attain to the likeness of God. For we were made in His image in order that we might strive after His likeness.¹

This theory Clement reads in Plato, who, as he

¹ Clement draws a marked distinction between the likeness (τὸ ὁμολωμα) and the image (ἡ εἰκών) of God. He held that every man who was endowed with reason had the image, but that it was only the Gnostic who had the "likeness," which is a more perfect state, as well. His prayer in the *Pedagogus* (p. 311, Potter) is that we may fulfil the likeness of the image, i.e. realize all that the image may become by growing into the likeness. So Origen (*Contra Celsum*) says: "man was made in the image of God, but not yet in His likeness."

The *Clementine Recognitions* (v. 15) speak of one "who carries the image of God, but has lost His likeness." "For in every man (c. 23) there is the image of God, but the likeness of

tells in the *Stromateis*, said that the *summum bonum* of existence, its "be-all and end-all," lay in the likeness to God (ἐν ἑξομοιώσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν), and that this likeness to God consisted in being just and holy and wise: "Is not this," Clement asks, "what some of our teachers have understood, namely, that man on his birth received that which is according to the image, but that afterwards, on his reaching perfection, obtained that which is according to the likeness? The likeness then to the true Logos, so far as is possible, is the end, and means restoration to the perfect sonship through the Son. When the Apostle said, 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ,' he set down as the goal of faith the being like God, the being, so far as is possible, 'just and holy and wise'" (*Strom.* ii. 418).

The attaining unto this "likeness," Clement tells us, is by the Holy Spirit completing in us that which He has already breathed into us (cf. *Phil.* i. 6).

In the *Stromateis* (iv.) our author treats of this *informing* work. "Teaching," he declares, "forms a man, and in forming him, it gives him a new nature. There is no difference between the being born such and the becoming such by time and training, and the Lord has given us both the one by creation and the other by re-creation and restoration."

God is only found where there is a kind heart and a pure soul." As we proceed we shall find that this distinction was a fundamental one in the soteriology of Clement.

In this way the man is drawn upwards to God by the teaching of the Word. But this teaching, regarded from the divine as well as the human standpoint, is not sufficient to effect this. There must be the possibility of an essential relationship between man and God if the teaching is to be effectual.

Now in the *Exhortation to the Gentiles* (p. 78) Clement thus describes our mystical relation to God through our organic union with His Christ: "For the image of God is His Word, the Divine Logos, the genuine Son of Mind, the Light archetypal of Light. But the image of the Word is the man, the true mind in man, that which is said to have been created 'in the image and likeness of God,' assimilated to the Divine Word in the wisdom of the heart and so far rational."

It is true, as Canon Liddon has pointed out (*Divinity of Our Lord*, p. 427), that Clement spoke of the Logos as the Second Principle (δεύτερον αἰτίον) of things (*Strom.* vii. 509), yet notwithstanding, he held the orthodox creed that the Son is one in nature with the Father, but distinct from Him in personality.

In the address to God at the end of the *Pædagogus* (iii. 311) he says:

υἱὲ καὶ πατὲρ, ἐν ἑμῶ, Κύριε.

O Son and Father, both one, O Lord;

while in the *Exhortation* (p. 93) he tells the heathen

that the "fairest sight for the Father is the Eternal Son crowned with victory." Consequently He must have regarded the Son as a separate Person. In one very fine passage in the same work (p. 93) he describes the God Word singing with the heavenly choir:

"Thus the Eternal Jesus, the one great High-Priest of One God who is also Father, prays for men and exhorts them. Hear ye me, ye nations innumerable. I summon the whole race of man, of which by the will of God I am Creator. Come to me and be enrolled under one God and one Word of God. I wish to impart this grace to you, a perfect gift—immortality."

In the *Stromateis* (iv. 612) he says: "Thus the Lord approaches our hearts, I mean the Lord Jesus Who by the Almighty Will is the Bishop of our hearts."

These words describe the action of a distinct Person.

Again with regard to his theory of the Logos, Clement seems to have considered Him as both *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς*, i. e. as both immanent in the Father and external to Him. The use of either of these terms to the exclusion of the other would, as Newman (*Athanasius*, ii. 341) has pointed out, have involved Clement in some form of Sabellianism or Arianism, but each term may correct the defective sense of the other. Accordingly he says (*Strom.* v.

547): "For the Logos of the Father of the universal is not the Word that is uttered (*ὁ προφορικός*), but is the most manifest wisdom and goodness of God," meaning that that title was not philosophically or theologically an adequate representation of him, as a word spoken has no substance. And in another passage (*Strom.* v. 553), where he says: "But the Logos proceeding (*i. e.* from the Father) is the cause of the creation and generates Himself (*i. e.* as man), when the Logos became flesh, that He may be visible," Clement shows that he did not regard the Word as altogether *ἐνδιάθετος* (indwelling).

Clement did not commit himself to the peculiar theory which is found in Tatian, Theophilus, and other Fathers regarding the generation of the Son, namely, that the Word after existing from eternity was born to be a Son "at the beginning." In the seventh book of the *Stromateis* (p. 829) he describes the Son as "the principle that is out of time, and without beginning."¹ He calls Him *ἀίδιος* in relation to His Father, and he says (*Strom.* v. 643) that "the Father does not exist without the Son, for with the fact of His Fatherhood goes the fact of His being Father of the Son."

In Christ Clement saw the manifestation of the wisdom, love, and holiness of God made complete; in Him he saw the perennial well-spring of Reason and the perfect Revealer of God's will; for Whose revelation the various schools of philosophy

¹ Τὴν ἄχρονον καὶ ἀναρχὸν ἀρχὴν τε τὸν υἱόν.

and the different forms of religion were designed, in the economy of God, to pave the way. Accordingly Christianity, or the religion of the Incarnate Word, was for Clement the summing-up of all the truths of the past as well as the source of all the discoveries of the future.

CHAPTER X

SOTERIOLOGY OF CLEMENT: DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

SALVATION for Clement was no mere scheme of escape. His training in the philosophy of Aristotle¹ taught him to regard human nature in its entirety and in the light of its end, its τέλος, its τί ἦν εἶναι, its ideal. Consequently he saw that the *summum bonum* of our humanity was not merely deliverance from the actual evil that the flesh is heir to, but that it also involves a realization of all that God designed that we should become—a self-realization of self by self in God.

This, the ideal of our human condition, has been realized by one man, who was also God, and is therefore realizable by those who have been “regenerated into Him.” It is, in a word, “the likeness of God,” which is attained by following Christ. This, according to Clement, is the final end of man, what God intended at the beginning that he should become.

¹ ὅσον ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης ταύτην φαμέν τὴν φέσιν εἶναι ἐκάστου, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου (*Aristotle*. Cf. *Met.* ix. 8, and *Phys.* ii. 8).

This theory of salvation as a making whole, as a full development of our highest powers, as the attainment of the perfection (τελείωσις) of body, soul, and spirit, implies no constraint upon the human will, which is conceived by Clement as having been created by God with the power of choosing either the good or the evil.

In the fourth Book of the *Stromateis* (c. xxiv.) Clement thus states in what this liberty consists: "Now that is in our power, of which we are masters equally with its contrary, such as . . . believing or not believing."¹ In the second book of the same work he says (c. xii.) that the Shepherd (Hermas) points out that "remission of sins differs from repentance, but that both are in our power," and Clement himself (c. xiv.) asserts that "defection, secession, and disobedience are in our power just as obedience is," and "therefore it is voluntary actions that are judged."

His comment on the words, "Yours is the kingdom of heaven,"² is: "It is yours if you wish, you who turn your free determination to God; it is yours if you only will to believe and follow the way of the Gospel" (*Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 92). In the second Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 435) he uses these emphatic words: "We who have received from the Scriptures that the free power of choosing or rejecting

¹ This was called by scholastics the liberty of contradiction.

² Our versions have, "Theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew v. 3).

(τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ φύγην αὐτοκρατορικὴν) has been given by the Lord to men ;” and in the same Book (p. 460) he defines “the voluntary” as “that which proceeds from appetite, or settled purpose, or deliberate thought.” Clement does indeed say (*Strom.* ii. 482) that it is the best thing for a bad man not to have free power (τὸ μὴ αὐτεξούσιον). But the context shows that it is not liberty but licence that he is here speaking of. The doctrine of freedom of will is thus consistently maintained by him who said, “He is God’s true servant who obeys Him of his own free will” (*Strom.* vi. 839). For he saw clearly that if salvation is the fulfilment of the likeness of the image of God (*Pædag.* 311), it must be something to be attained by our personality, and that if it is to be the salvation of our true self, the preservation of the right condition of soul (*Strom.* ii. 471), it must proceed from our own self-determination to follow out the laws of our true being, so he says: “Since some are unbelieving and others are contentious, all do not attain to the perfection of the good, for it is not possible to attain unto it without deliberate moral choice² (ἀνευ προαίρεσεως, *Strom.* v. 548), but yet Clement did not, as some affirm, attribute too much to the human will. He nowhere asserts that we can work out our salvation independently. On the contrary, he describes salvation as a gift, reaching all men

¹ τῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐσχηκότων.

² Cf. Clement’s saying, “Goodness is a quality of the will.”

of all ages through Christ, especially in the *Stromateis* (xi. 785), where he says, "For the covenant of salvation which has come to us from the beginning of the world, through different generations and times, is really one, although it has been conceived to be different in the matter of the gift; for it was suitable that there should be one immutable gift of salvation from one God through one Lord, which benefits in many ways, and on account of which the middle wall of partition which divided the Greek from the Jew is taken away." (*Strom.* vi. 795.)

Also, when commenting on a passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 1, 2), he writes: "He (*i. e.* the writer) has clearly said before¹ that there is one salvation of the just and of us in Christ."²

He held the orthodox view that "salvation is by grace" (*Strom.* v. 647). The love which gives us the character of righteousness is described as God-bearing and inspired by God (θεοφορούσης καὶ θεοφορουμένης (*Strom.* vi. 792). In the fifth Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 697) our free-will is thus attributed to the power of the Father: "Therefore wisdom, being a divine gift and the power (δύναμις) of the Father, stirs up our freedom of will" (προτρέπει μὲν ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον).

In a remarkable passage in the sixth Book of the

¹ Hebrews xi. 40.

² Cf. "For He is the door to the Father, through which Abraham and Isaac and the prophets and the apostles and the Church enter" (Ignat. *Epist. ad Phil.* c. 9).

Stromateis (p. 802), at first sight he does seem to attribute too much to human effort: "The question before us," he there says, "is by what plan of action and by what course of life we may arrive at the knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις) of the Almighty God, and by what manner of worshipping God we may become the authors (causes) to ourselves of salvation."¹

He can, however, only mean indirect causes; for he continues: "not learning from the Sophists, but being taught by God Himself what is pleasing in His sight, we assay to do what is right and holy." He thus places the direction of our lives in the hands of God, our supreme teacher. He then proceeds to show how God co-operates² with us not only in our theory but also in our practice: "Our salvation is well-pleasing to Him, and our salvation is attained by good action and knowledge: in both of which the Lord is Instructor."

According to Clement, God does not commit Himself to any one special method of salvation. He deals with each soul according to its needs and its nature. "For the Almighty God, caring for all men; converts some to salvation by precepts, some by threats, some by miraculous signs, and some by gracious promises" (*Strom.* vi. 753).

Again, he observes in the first Book of the *Stromateis*

¹ σφίσι σωτηρίας αἴτιοι γινόμεθα (*Strom.* vi. 802).

² Cf. *Q. D. S.* 364, where he ascribes change of heart in the first instance to the power of God.

(p. 339), that there are many ways that lead to righteousness, and all tend towards the Royal road and gate, for "God saves us in a multitude of ways, because He is good."¹

Of the ways that lead to the perfection of salvation (ἡ τελείωσις τῆς σωτηρίας) he mentions two: works and knowledge. "And if we consider the truth," he goes on to say, "knowledge (or *gnosis*) is the purification (κάθαρσις) of the governing part of the soul, and is a good activity" (ἐνέργεια).

The "No effort" theory of salvation, and the sister heresy of Antinomianism receives no support from the writings of Clement. "For we are saved by grace," he says (*Strom.* v. 647), immediately adding, "*not-however without good works*";² but "it is necessary, since we are naturally adapted (πεφυκότας πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν) to what is good, to pay some attention to it. We must have the mind healthy, and such that it will have no regrets in the pursuit of what is right (τὸ καλόν); for this we especially need divine grace, right teaching, a pure heart, and the drawing of the Father."³

Clement then recognizes that salvation, while being the gift of God, is a process that is worked out in human life, for he observes, "hence (*i. e.* from 'con-

¹ πολυτρόπως σώζοντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθός γὰρ (*Strom.* i. 339).

² οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων.

³ τῆς θείας χρήζομεν χάριτος, διδασκαλίας τε ὀρθῆς, καὶ εὐπαθείας ἀγνῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁλκῆς (*Strom.* v. 647).

stant love') arises in the Gnostic the likeness to God the Saviour, as he grows as perfect (*γινόμενος τέλειος*) as it is possible for man to become" (*Strom.* vi. 792).

The treasures with which we can purchase this eternal salvation are not gold and silver, but "our own treasures of love and living faith" (*Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 71). Knowledge, faith, and love, manifested in good action, are thus, according to Clement, the saving principles of life. One may remark that these are some of the leading characteristics of the Christian mentioned by St. Peter, as enabling him to enter the kingdom of heaven (2 St. Peter i. 5, 6, 7).

We have now to consider whether the doctrine which is called Universalism finds a supporter in Clement. There are two passages which show that he was not a Universalist in the modern sense. The first of these is from the fourth Book of the *Stromateis*. In this he thus combated the Antinomian doctrine of the followers of Basileides (*vide* p. 158 *supra*): "These words I have introduced in order to confute the followers of Basileides who do not live rightly, as if they had the liberty of sinning on account of their perfection, or as if they were sure at any rate of salvation by nature, even if they sin now, by reason of their election" (*Strom.* iv. 511).

In the second passage (*Strom.* vii. 833) he shows that while Christ is the Lord of all, He is the Saviour of all those who have believed: "How is He (*i.e.*

Christ) Saviour and Lord," he asks, "if He is not the Saviour and Lord of all?" He is, for He is the Saviour of those who have believed because they wished to know Him; and of those who have not believed He is the Lord until they, becoming able to confess, receive peculiar and suitable benefit from Him.

DOCTRINE OF SIN, ACTUAL AND ORIGINAL.

As a philosophy of salvation is imperfect in which no account is taken of and no provision made against sin and all that it implies, we may remark in this connection that Clement did not in any way seek to avoid this dark mystery, but treated it as a Christian philosopher should.

"Sin," he says (*Strom.* iv. 605), "is certainly to be placed among actions, not among substances;¹ therefore it is not the work of God, but sinners are called the enemies of God, the enemies in truth of the commandments which they do not heed like the friends who are obedient; these latter receive their name because of their union, and the others theirs on account of their separation, which is *voluntarily chosen* (τὴν ἐκ προαιρέσεως); for enmity and sin are nought without an enemy and a sinner. Again he says (*Strom.* ii. 462): "That which is voluntary proceeding from the free will is judged;² for God examines the heart and

¹ ἀμέλει τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐνεργεῖα κεῖται οὐκ οὐσίᾳ.

² τὰ προαιρετικὰ κρίνεται.

the reins, therefore he says, 'Do not covet'; for it is the mind that God looks at. Accordingly the thought, the action in conception, though not yet an accomplished fact, is already an action in the sight of God, Who believes in us, and does not regard all our actions in the light of their results, but of their motives" (*vide Strom.* ii. 443). In the same connection he says: "The Logos cried out, summoning all collectively, though knowing certainly those who would not obey, yet since it lies with ourselves whether we are obedient or not, and in order that some might not have ignorance to plead, he made the calling a just one, but demands from each what he can do; for some have the will and the power, who have arrived at this stage by practice and are purified; while others who have the will have not the power."

In the *Stromateis* (ii. 462) he thus describes the relation in which ἁμάρτημα (sin), ἀτύχημα (misfortune), and ἀδίκημα (injustice), stand to each other: "It is ἁμάρτημα, so to speak, to live luxuriously and wantonly; it is ἀτύχημα, to kill one's friend unintentionally, but ἀδίκημα is a violent act of sacrilege, such as robbing the dead; misfortune arises through an error of reason, but sin is voluntary injustice, while injustice is voluntary vice; accordingly sin is my own voluntary act." Again he says: "We sin of our own free will; let no one say that he who acts unjustly or sins, errs because of the influence of demons, for in that case he would be innocent, but when one chooses

the same things that the devils do (as regards sin), and is unstable and light and fickle as a demon in his desires, he becomes a man like a demon" (*demonicus*) (*Strom.* vi. 789).

From these passages we learn that Clement regarded sin as consisting in a wrong attitude of the will—for which we are responsible—to goodness and God. In the seventh Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 894) he mentions two practical causes of sin, ignorance and moral weakness. His words are: "Though men commit deeds without number, there are, generally speaking, two originating causes of every sinful act, ignorance (*ἄνοια*) and moral weakness (*ἀσθένεια*); for both we are responsible (*ἄμφοω δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*), since we are not willing either to learn or to control our lust; of these causes the one warps our judgments, and the other prevents us from carrying out our good determinations." He distinguishes between *vitium* (vice) the source, and *peccatum* (sin) the result, and takes care not to confound vice with ignorance,¹ for "vice," he says, "arises through ignorance, but is not ignorance. The form of vice is twofold: in one form it is insidious, in the other aggressive." In the *Pædagogus* (i. 140) he is more explicit on the origin of vice: "When God looks away vice arises spontaneously, through the faithlessness of man" (*ἡ ἀπιστία ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ*). Again he speaks of the wrest-

¹ The "moral" is not therefore a phase of "the mental" with Clement.

ling with spiritual powers and the rulers of darkness who are able to try us to the utmost (*Strom.* iii. 558), and in the *Tract on the Rich Man* he describes the deadly wounds that have been inflicted upon our nature by these princes of darkness (κοσμοκρατόρων τοῦ σκούρου), and in the *Pædagogus* (i. 139) he speaks of the tendency to sin that is in our nature.

For these various temptations from within and without Clement suggests specific remedies.

In the passage quoted above (*Strom.* vii. 895), after describing ignorance and moral weakness as the general sources of sin, he proceeds to say "that there are two kinds of discipline handed down as useful for both forms of sin; for the one, knowledge and clear demonstration from the testimony of the Scriptures, and for the other, the training according to the word which is given by the way of faith and fear." "Both these methods," he observes, "help us to grow in the direction of perfect charity. For the object of the Gnostic is, I think, a double one, in some cases scientific contemplation, and in others action" (πραξις). In the second Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 466) he says, "By deeds of charity and faith sins are removed." In the third Book (p. 558) he thus alludes to the knowledge of God as another remedy: "For some have not the knowledge of God, I mean the sinners," and in the *Tract on the Rich Man* (p. 343) he speaks of Christ the Healer, Who has cut away the passions of our nature from the roots, and healed its

wounds (cf. *Pædagogus*, i. 139). Such was Clement's theory of the nature, origin, and the remedy of sin. We shall now give some of his general sayings on this dark subject.

"The sinner is the servant of sin," he says, quoting from the *Alcibiades* of Plato who calls sin a servile thing (δουλοπρεπές), but virtue a free thing (ελευθεροπρεπές). "Ye were sold by your sins," he says (*Strom.* ii. 441), with a reference to St. Paul's words (Rom. vii. 14), "but I am carnal, sold under sin." "Sin," he goes on to say, "is the death of the soul" (*Strom.* iii. 548). Clement is very severe on sins committed after baptism. He is a strong advocate for purity of word and thought at all times. One exquisite remark of his on this subject deserves quotation; it is this: "That chastity is perfect in my mind which consists of sincerity of mind and works and thoughts, and especially of words and of purity in one's dreams" (*Strom.* iv. 628).

In words that remind us of Juvenal's canon of purity,

"Maxima debetur puero reverentia,"

Clement warns his pupils above all things to abstain from lewd conversation, and to silence those who indulge in it. And as ugly things present themselves to the ear as well as to the eye, he says the Divine Instructor protects his wrestling¹ children with chaste

¹ Clement often spoke of the Christian career as a wrestling (πάλη) or contest. He compared the victorious Christian with

words as a defence for their ears lest anything might corrupt them, and turns their eyes to beautiful and chaste sights. "For there is nothing in human nature that is shameful in itself, but only that use of it which is contrary to law, and that is full of shame and worthy of reproach and punishment. For vice is the only thing that is really shameful, and the things that are done through it" (*Pædagogus*, ii. 189).

We shall now endeavour to examine Clement's opinions on the subject of—

ORIGINAL SIN.

The passage which is generally cited from Clement's works as containing his opinion on this subject is found in the sixteenth chapter of the third Book of the *Stromateis*, where he says: "And when David said, 'In sin I was conceived, and in iniquity my mother conceived me,' he speaks indeed of Mother Eve, but Eve was the mother of all the living, and if 'he was conceived in sin,' at least he himself was not in sin, nor yet was he sin himself; but if any one turns from sin to the faith, he turns from the habit of sin as from a mother to the life."

These words of Clement when taken from their context seem to deny the fact of original sin, the natural taint of heredity. But if we look at the con-

the athlete who has won the garland in the sports, God with the president of the games, Christ with the judge, and the angels with the spectators (*Strom.* vii. 839.)

text, we find that Clement is maintaining against Cassianus the dignity of marriage, and denying the disgrace of birth. "Let them say," he exclaims, "when and where the babe just born has committed fornication, or how one who has not done anything has fallen under the curse of Adam ; they must maintain, if they are consistent, that birth of soul is bad as well as that of body." Clement stoutly upheld that man was not in sin, or rather was sin in the sense of the followers of Cassianus, who said that the birth of David, as well as of other men, was wicked and corrupt, and that the devil and not God was the author of it.

He does indeed say (*Stromateis*, iii. 532), "the children (lit. the seed) of those who are sanctified are also sanctified ;" but he explains what he means by referring his readers to the words of St. Paul, who said that the unbelieving husband was sanctified by the believing wife (1 Cor. vii. 14) ; he also quotes with approval the very words of that Apostle (Rom. v. 12) : "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin ; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned ; and death reigned from Adam to Moses."

When commenting on the manner in which the serpent beguiled Eve, he connects our disobedience and our love of enjoyment in some way with the sin of "our protoplast" Adam,¹ and he speaks of "the

¹ φιληδονούντων ἡμῶν τάχα ποῦ προλαβόντος ἡμῶν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου (*Strom.* iii. 554).

regeneration through water," and of "the womb of water," expressions which evidently imply the fact of original sin.

In the twelfth chapter of the sixth Book of the *Stromateis* Clement discusses the question, whether Adam was created perfect or imperfect, and faces the dilemma: "If he was created imperfect, how could the work of a perfect God be imperfect, and above all man?" and if he was created perfect, how could he disobey? Clement's answer is that Adam was not created perfect indeed, but adapted for (ἐπιτήδειος) the acquisition of virtue. This aptitude he defines as a motion (φωρά) to virtue, but not virtue itself. "All men have this natural tendency to virtue" (*Strom.* vi. 788), but we are not born naturally endowed with virtue, nor after we are born does it come to us naturally as a part of the body; for in that case it would not be either voluntary or praiseworthy (*Strom.* vii. 839), but as Plato in the *Menon* says, "virtue is God-given; not coming from nature (φύσει), nor imparted by teaching (διδασκόν), but being an accession by the ordinance of God (θεία μοίρα), not without reason to those who acquire it" (*Strom.* v. 697). Virtue in the abstract, according to Clement, must be sought by labour, study, and discipline; "it is a disposition of the soul under the sway of reason consistent through the whole of life;" while the particular virtues can only be won by living in the light of our confession to God (κατὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ὁμολογίαν).

This difficulty which the attainment of the character of virtue presented to the mind of Clement could only have been due to his sense of inherited failings and tendencies. He also speaks positively of a tendency (*φopá*) to sin, which was cut off by Christ (*Pæd.* i. 117), and which he rather plainly connects with the disobedience of "the protoplast" in the *Pædagogus* (i. 169), where we read : "because the first man sinned and disobeyed God, and the man who sins against his reason is compared with the beasts, the man who is devoid of reason is naturally likened to the beasts."

We have seen that Clement held that man is of his "own nature inclined to evil" as well as to good. But we have also found that he is a strong upholder of personal responsibility and freedom of will.

In the seventh Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 789) we find the reconciliation of the two. There Clement writes : "Now he who is bad by natural disposition (*φύσει*), when he becomes a sinner on account of *vice* (inherited), turns out a bad man (*φαῦλος*), having that (*i. e.* vice) which he chose of his own free will ; being inclined to sin (*ἀμαρτητικός*), and sinning in very deed." The gist of this passage is, that a man may have the inborn tendency to vice, and yet he is not a bad man until his will co-operates with the desire and identifies itself with it. We may therefore truly say that Clement in his own philosophical system took into account the inherited failings and infection of our nature, and showed how provision was made against

such in the Christian economy of salvation (*οἰκονομία σωτήριος*), without at the same time depreciating the power and responsibility of the human will.

DOCTRINE OF REPENTANCE.

Repentance has always been regarded as one of the essentials of salvation, and as one of the results of the Atonement. We may therefore discuss Clement's treatment of this subject in connection with his theory of salvation and sin; and we may at the outset venture to say that he handled this theme as a Christian and as a philosopher. It is our repentance that God seeks. by His economy of fear, he tells us in the *Pædagogus* (l. 139). In another passage (*Strom.* ii. 443), he says that "God takes into consideration the inward state of the soul of man, if he has chosen (good or evil) easily, if he has repented of his errors, if his conscience pricks him for his sinful deeds, and he has recognized his fault, that is, gets knowledge afterwards (*μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγνω*); for repentance is a tardy knowledge, repentance is therefore the work of faith; for unless a man believes that, by which he was previously held, to be a sin, and unless he believes that punishment is imminent for the unbelieving and salvation for him who lives according to the commandments, he will not be moved from it."

In the same book he tells us that the *Shepherd* described repentance as "great intelligence." "For when one repents of his misdeeds he no longer per-

forms them, but torturing his own soul for his evil works he benefits it." "Repentance differs from remission of sins, but both are in our power." In the *Tract on the Rich Man* (p. 364) he thus defines repentance: "To repent is to condemn our past actions, and to ask pardon for them from the Father Who, in His mercy alone, is able to nullify our deeds, and with the *dew of the Spirit* to wipe out our former sins. . . . And though one has lived dissolutely and then repents, it is possible to overcome the effects of his past bad life by his manner of life after his repentance." He regards the power of God as the first factor in our change of mind. For he says: "it is impossible to cut away all at once the passions which have been allowed to grow up with our nature, but with the power of God, and human supplication, and the help of our brothers, and genuine repentance, and constant practice, these things are set right."

"There are two kinds of repentance," he writes in the sixth Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 789): "the general one which follows acts of sin, and the other kind, when one has learnt the nature of sin, in the first place persuades us to desist from sin itself, and from this it follows that one does not continue in sin."

In the second Book of the same work (p. 459) he contrasts second repentance very unfavourably with first repentance. "For it is not right," he observes, "that one who has received remission of sins should still commit sin: for in that first and only repent-

ance, I mean of those who lived before in a gentile and primitive life, that is, the life which is lived in ignorance, a repentance¹ is forthwith put before those who are called, which cleanses (ἡ καθαίρουσα τὸν τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς) the place of the soul from sins that faith may be established."

"But continued and alternate repentances after sin differ in no respect from the state of the disobedient, except in respect of the sense of sin. And I do not know which is worst, to sin knowingly, or to sin afresh after repentance." Clement then proceeds to speak of the heathen who have come to the faith. "They once for all," he says, "receive remission of sins, but he who commits sin after that, and then repents, even though he finds pardon, must be ashamed that he is no longer washed (*i.e.* by baptism) for remission of sins (μηκέτι λουόμενος εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν); for to repent often is but to practise sin. It is then but an appearance of repentance, but is not repentance when one frequently asks forgiveness for frequently committed sins" (*Strom.* ii. 460).

¹ In this passage Clement appears to look upon repentance as the first stage in regeneration, and therefore as one result of the work of Christ. We may compare the words of Clement Romanus to the Corinthians: "that blood which shed for the sake of our salvation recovered for the whole world the grace of repentance" (*Epistle to Corinthians*, c. 6). Also Mr. M'Leod Campbell, who described the Atonement as an "Amen in Humanity to the will of God and His condemnation of sin," regarded repentance as one great result of Christ's work.

In this passage Clement's purpose was not to deny the grace of repentance to the lapsed, as Origen in his *Tract on St. Matthew's Gospel* (c. 35) and the Novatians did, but rather to deter converts from falling back to sin, by pointing out the enormity of sinning after the knowledge of God had been acquired.

In another passage (*Strom.* iv. 628) he describes repentance (*μετάνοια*) as a "sufficient purification for a man (*κάθαρσις*) when it is perfect and steadfast; if when we have condemned ourselves for our previous actions we make advance, thinking of the things that are to follow¹ (*τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα νοήσαντος*), and stripping the mind as well of the things which delight us through the senses, as well as of our former misdeeds."

When speaking of the different stages (*προκοπὰς*) in glory (*Strom.* vi. 795), Clement says: "then when through a long course of discipline our faithful one has been delivered from his passions, and passes to a better abode than his previous one, he still must endure the greatest punishment²—repentance for the sins committed after baptism." Accordingly Clement

¹ Clement gives on two occasions a rather unusual meaning to the Greek word (*μετάνοια*) which is rendered repentance; whereas it is generally thought to mean *change* of mind; he seems to give the preposition the sense of "after," and the substantive itself the meaning of "after-thought."

² "Grief and shame for his past transgressions," he says, "are the most bitter punishments the faithful have to undergo." The remembrance of lost opportunities and of past transgressions are surely the cause of the greatest remorse in the present life.

did not, like the Novatians, regard sin after baptism as unpardonable ; although he held firmly and correctly that true repentance must include the steadfast purpose to lead a new life, and the abandonment of one's old courses, as well as the sorrow for past sins.

THE ATONEMENT.

Though we find no systematic theology of the Atonement in Clement, still we are able to gather from passages that occur here and there through his works, that, like Athanasius and Augustine, he regarded the redeeming work of Christ as a regeneration of our nature by virtue of our mystical union with Him. In the *Tract on the Rich Man* (p. 343) the following passage occurs :

“ Who was he (*i. e.* our neighbour) other than the Saviour Himself? Or who displayed greater pity than He for us who were well-nigh slain by the rulers of darkness through many wounds, fears, desires, wraths, griefs, deceits, and pleasures. Of these wounds, Jesus is the only Physician ; He cuts out our affections from the very root, not like the law which removes the bare results, the fruits of bad plants. For He lays His own axe at the roots of sin. He it was Who poured the wine (the blood) of the vine of David upon our wounded spirits, and applied the oil of the Spirit from His own heart, and freely too. He it is Who showed that love, faith, and hope are the indissoluble bonds of health and salvation ; and He it was Who subjected to

us angels, principalities, and powers for a high payment (ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ μισθῷ). For they too shall be freed from the vanity of the world in the manifestation of the glory of the Sons of God."

In this passage Clement speaks of the pity of the Saviour for the captives of the Rulers of Darkness, the renovation of our humanity by the extirpation of the seeds of sin, and appears to allude to the redemption of Creation, which has shared in the ruin of man, and "which waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God" (Romans viii. 19), *at a great cost*. He speaks of Jesus as the Healer, and of sin as a wound.

In the *Pædagogus* (i. 127) he thus alludes to our regeneration in Christ and our mystical relation to Him; our sympathy with Him, and our incorruption by Him: "For if we are regenerated *into* Christ, He Who regenerated us supports us with His own milk; for it is natural that every being which gives birth should supply nourishment to its offspring. By parity of reasoning, as we have been born again in an analogous way, so we have a spiritual food. We are joined, therefore, in every respect, in all things to Christ, both in kinship with Him, on account of the blood by which we are redeemed, and in *sympathy* on account of the nourishment which we receive from the Word and in *incorruption* by His guidance of life." ¹

Πάντη τοίνυν ἡμεῖς τὰ πάντα Χριστῷ προσφκειώμεθα καὶ εἰς συγγένειαν διὰ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ᾧ λυτρούμεθα καὶ εἰς συγγένειαν διὰ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τὴν ἀγωγὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ.

In the *Pædagogus* (ii. 177) he thus speaks of the double nature of the blood of Christ :

“The great bunch of grapes (*i. e.* which grew on the sacred vine) was the Word Who was crushed for us ; since the blood of the grape, that is, of the Word, consented to be mixed with water. In the same way His blood is blended with salvation. But the blood of the Lord is twofold ; one kind is carnal, by which we are redeemed from destruction (ψ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυτρώμεθα), and the other is spiritual, that is by which we are anointed ” (ψ κεχρίσμεθα).

He then proceeds to describe the spiritual union of the believer with Christ in the Eucharist. We shall have occasion to recur to this passage when speaking of Clement’s sacramental teaching.

In the *Stromateis* (iv. 93) he speaks of Jesus as the “great High Priest, of One God Who is also Father, Who prays for men.” In another passage he calls Him “the Bishop of our hearts.” “Thus,” he says, “the Lord draws near the righteous, and nothing escapes Him of our thoughts and counsels ; I mean the Lord Jesus, who by the will of God is the Bishop of your heart, Whose blood was consecrated for us ” (*Strom.* iv. 612).

In the *Pædagogus* (i. 139) Clement speaks of the relation in which Christ stands to our sins. He is there commenting on the sixth verse of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah : “The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all ” (lit. the Lord hath made the iniquity

of us all to meet on Him), which takes this form in the Greek of Clement, "The Lord gave Himself up to our sins." Strange to relate, he says nothing on the subject of the burden of sin and the shame of the cross, which were endured for men, but interprets the verse in this way: "The Lord gave Himself to our sins; that clearly means, as Corrector and Amender of our sins; therefore He is the only one who is able to remit sins, our Pædagogus appointed by the Father of all being the only One Who is able to distinguish obedience from disobedience." Moreover he goes on to say: "The same Word, Who inflicts the penalty, is the judge. But it is manifest that He Who threatens is not willing to do any hurt, nor even to perform His threats; but by putting man in fear, he *cut off the motion to sins*¹ and shows His good-will by still waiting and making known what they must suffer if they continue in sin. Good therefore is God. . . . God is not then angry, as some think, but for the most part He restrains us, and in every matter He exhorts us, and indicates how we should act. Still it is a good plan to make us afraid of sinning; the fear of the Lord banishes sin. Moreover, God does not chasten us in anger, but He considers what is just, seeing that it is not expedient that justice should be suspended on our account. Each one of us chooses his punishment because he sins of his own free will. The cause is therefore in him who makes the choice, not in God. And if our

¹ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνέκοψε φορὰν (Pæd. i. 117).

injustice commends the justice of God, what shall we say then?"

Clement having thus vindicated the justice of God, proceeds to show that the object He has in view when He threatens and punishes men is their repentance and salvation. Quoting the prophet Amos, "I have overthrown some of you as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a brand plucked out of the burning, and yet have ye not returned to me," he remarks: "You see how God seeks our repentance by reason of His goodness, and in the *economy of fear* He displays His good-will to us." Commenting on the words, "I shall turn away *My* face from them," he says:

"For where God looks, there is peace and joy; but where He averts His countenance evil enters. He does not wish therefore to behold evil. For He is good; but when He turns away His eye, evil arises spontaneously on account of the faithlessness of man. . . . And therefore I would confess that He punishes the faithless—for punishment¹ (or chastisement,

¹ In the *Pædagogus* (i. 139) Clement gives this note on punishment: "Punishment is good for man, as Plato learnt, for he says it is really well with those who pay the penalty; for such derive benefit from the fact that their soul is improved when they are justly chastised" (*Gorgias*, p. 325). "According to Plato, then," Clement remarks, "what is just is good." Again (*Strom.* i. 421), he practically says chastisement (*κόλασις*) is a correction of the soul (*διόρθωσις ἐστὶ ψυχῆς*). In the *Pædagogus* (i. 187) he says, "many of the passions are cured by punishment"

ἡ κόλασις) is for the good and advantage of him who receives it, and it is the correction of him who resists—but that He does not wish for vengeance. Whereas

(θεραπεύεται δὲ πολλὰ τῶν παθῶν τιμωρίᾳ). There is a long and elaborate passage on the object and method of punishment in the *Stromateis* (iv. 635): "Here then the good God punishes men for three reasons—first, that he who is being chastised may be improved; then, that they who can be saved may be prepared and admonished by examples; and thirdly, lest he who is injured be held up to contempt and be exposed to injury. The methods of correction are two—teaching, and punishment, which we call chastisement. But you must know that they who have fallen into sin after punishment are those who are punished. Their former deeds are passed over; the sins they commit afterwards are purged away." In the *Pædagogus* (i. 138) we have the following account of our Lord's admonition: "Even in like manner our Captain, the Word, the Leader of all, by admonishing those who disobey His law with a view to deliver them from servitude, error, and the thralldom of their enemy, and to restrain their passions leads them in peace to the sacred concord of His State." Another important passage on the same subject is to be found in the third Book of the same work (p. 279), where Clement writes: "Our Pædagogue, Who is loving to all, assisting us in many ways, now advises and now rebukes, and when others err He shows to us their shame and the punishment that followed, at the same time leading us and admonishing us, with a view to keep us from sin by pointing out what has befallen them. By these similes He has very clearly changed those who were badly disposed; He has prevented others who were for attempting like deeds; He has given endurance to some, and He has made some give up their sin; while He has cured others, leading them by the contemplation of a state similar to their own, to a better condition. . . . For punishments and threatenings serve to make men avoid sin, through dread of the penalty."

revenge (*τιμωρία*) is the returning of evil with evil, with a view to the advantage of the avenger, but this would not be desired by Him who taught us to pray for those who revile us. . . . That God is good, all confess, and that He is just does not need many words to prove when one can adduce the evangelical saying of the Lord: 'That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.' Thus basing the justice of God upon His goodness, Clement was able to see in God's dealings with sinners a scheme of improvement rather than a system of retribution, and to regard the Word as the Amender (*διορθωτής* and *κατευθυντήρ*) rather than the Avenger (*τιμωρός*) of sin.

Although Clement did not attempt to formulate any theory of the Atonement, or to explain the Son's dealing with the Father on behalf of the erring humanity He represented, yet he brought his readers to the very heart of the Atonement when he led them to the Person of the Incarnate Word of God.

For his favourite text, when treating of the sacrifice of Christ, was not "without shedding of blood is no remission" (Hebrews ix. 22), but rather, "My blood is drink indeed" (John vi. 35). When he does use the words, "without shedding of blood," he is not speaking of the Son's approach to His Father, but of our approach to the Word; and he is not referring to the Lord's sufferings, but to the life of trial that awaits

the true Christian. For if our Master, he argues, was crowned with thorns, it is not right that His followers should wear garlands of flowers.¹

The regeneration and sustenance that come to us from Christ are his uppermost thoughts when speaking of this solemn mystery. "The Word," he says, "is spoken of metaphorically as bread and flesh, and nourishment, and blood and milk, for our Lord is everything, that we who believe in Him may enjoy Him" (*Pæd.* i. 127). Again he says, "the blood is represented in an allegory as wine" (*Pæd.* i. 124). The spiritual food which the Word gives to us is the subject of a long passage in the *Pædagogus* (i. 124), where we read: "This nourishment proper to us, the Lord supplies, and gives us His flesh and sheds His blood. Thus the growth of His children is every way provided for. O wonderful mystery! He bids us cast off the old and carnal corruption with the old food; and becoming partakers of another and new diet, that of Christ, to receive Him, if possible, and carry Him in our breasts. To express this truth in a more general way, the Holy Spirit is represented by the flesh—for the flesh was made by Him, and the blood signifies the Word, for as rich blood the Word is infused into our life. And the Lord, both Spirit and Word, is the food of infants. The nourishment is the milk of the Father; by it alone the children are nourished. He then who is the Beloved and our

¹ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀναιμωτὶ προσίεναι τῷ Λόγῳ ἔξεστιν (*Pæd.* ii. 214).

Sustainer, the Word saving our humanity, poured out for us His blood, through which we, who believe in God, have access to the breast of the Father—even the Word. For He alone, as it is right, supplies us, His children, with the milk of love.”

Clement also saw in the blood a symbol of our Lord's passion. “The same blood and milk,” he said, “is a symbol of the passion and doctrine of our Lord” (*Pæd.* i. 127). The blood of Abel crying from the ground contained a prophecy, he said, of “the Word Who was to suffer.” But, for him, the primary reference of “blood” was to the body of our Lord and the nourishment we derive from it; “for the blood,” he said, “is the substance of the human body” (*Pæd.* i. 127), words that seem to echo Deuteronomy xii. 23, “for the blood is the life.”

We have seen that he does indeed speak of repentance, which he seemed to regard as one result of the work of Christ, “as *cleansing* the place of the soul.” He also spoke of the cleansing of Baptism, the laver¹ through which we are cleansed of our sins, “the Baptism of the Word, by which our sins are remitted,”² “the genuine drops by which we are made clean,”³ and he described our illumination,

¹ λουτρὸν μὲν δι' οὗ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀπορρυπτόμεθα (*Pæd.*).

² ἀφιεμένων τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἐν Παιωνίῳ φαρμάκῳ, λογικῷ βαπτίσματι (*Pæd.*).

³ Cleanse yourselves from your habits with genuine drops, ταῖς ἀληθιναῖς στάγασι (*Exh. ad Gent.* 779).

adoption, perfection, and immortality as results of baptism (*Pæd.* i. 114), and he regarded deliverance from darkness as a result of our regeneration.¹ Accordingly these blessed results which flow into our nature through the Baptism of the Word, repentance, remission of sins, deliverance from darkness, redemption, cleansing, illumination, adoption, perfection, and immortality may be summed up in the two favourite terms of our author, regeneration (*ἀναγέννησις*) and sustaining grace (*τροφή*).

It would, however, seem that Clement regarded these benefits as coming to us from the Incarnation rather than from the Atonement of our Lord. He does indeed say, "we glorify Him Who was sacrificed for us (*τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱερευθέντα*), we also sacrificing ourselves" (*Strom.* vii. 836), but he does not seem to attach sufficient importance and to give an adequate position to the sacrifice of the death of Christ in his system of Theology. He saw that Christ is the representative Man, and the Son of God Who recalled man to his relation with God by being the revelation of the Father, and won men to love and imitate God by discovering in His own nature the beauty of holiness. For salvation, according to Clement, is the following of Christ.

He understood that Christ is everywhere present organically connected with the race by His Incarna-

¹ ὁ ἀναγεννηθεὶς . . . ἀπήλλακται μὲν παραχρῆμα τοῦ σκοτούς (*Pæd.* i. 114).

tion; that He is ever working in man, leading him to repentance, giving him light, power, and love, and thus imparting Himself to humanity as their Bread of Life.

His vision was clear enough to discern in Christ, the Healer of our wounds, the Restorer of our nature, who "cut out the tendency to sin" and "the passions of our flesh," and the well-spring of a new life purifying and regenerating the souls of men. But to the mystery of the Agony and the Passion on the Cross, he makes but a passing reference,¹ regarding it as an episode in the perfect identification.² For the Incarnation which established the future of humanity on the restored basis of a new creation by a new relation, sympathy, and incorruption³ (*Pæd.* i. 127), was his one absorbing theme.

¹ The two following passages seem to refer to Christ's struggle with and triumph over the enemy of man: "He it was who subjected to us *for a great price* angels, and powers, and principalities." But this reference is uncertain, as he immediately adds: "for they too shall be delivered from the vanity of the world in the revelation of the glory of the Sons of God" (*Q. D. S.*, 343).

² He makes this identity in suffering a ground of appeal for mercy (*Pæd.* i. 136). "Have compassion on us, for Thou Thyself in Thine own sufferings experienced the weakness of the flesh."

³ We are joined with Christ . . . in kinship with Him on account of the blood by which we are redeemed (*Pæd.* i. 127).

CHAPTER XI

CLEMENT AND THE BIBLE

CLEMENT's learning, as we have seen, was most profound and extensive. He was as much at home in the poetry and philosophy of the heathen, as he was in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Some idea of the range of his erudition may be given by the fact that the list of Greek authors alone from whom he quotes are legion. His writings are as interesting as they are voluminous, on account of the light they throw on the Roman Empire of the second century, the information they contain of the ancient Gnostic heresies, and the numerous quotations of lost authors that we find therein. But they reveal him more in the character of an eclectic philosopher than in that of a careful theologian. And yet, an ardent student of the Scriptures, he was anxious that others should follow his example. As we have already seen, he advised Christian couples to begin the day with prayer and reading. He recommended all Christians to prove the truth of their belief by their own independent

examination of the sacred records ; and he invited the heathen to find out what the true doctrine was by searching the Scriptures themselves, at the same time urging them to exert their reason in order to "distinguish the true from the false." At the time he wrote, doctrine was passing from oral tradition to written definition. Clement says over and over again, that he is simply retailing an original tradition that has been handed down to him. After his mention of his teachers (*Strom.* i. 322), he tells us that they preserved the true tradition of the blessed doctrine without break from Peter and James, John and Paul, handing it down from father to son, until at last these ancestral and apostolic seeds were deposited with him. "Well I know that they would rejoice," he adds, "not indeed in my exposition but in the committal of their traditions to this writing."

And yet he insists on drawing a marked distinction between written and oral doctrine. In his *Selections from the Prophets* (ch. 27) he tells that the ancients did not write, not wishing to waste the time they had to devote to teaching on writing.

Eusebius quotes a passage from Clement's last *Hypotyposesis*, in which we find the statement, that our Lord communicated the *gnosis*, i. e. the knowledge of the true doctrine, to James, John, and Peter after His resurrection ; they delivered it to the other disciples, and these, in their turn, to the seventy.

"For our Lord did not forthwith reveal to the many

those things which are not for the many, but to the few who were able to receive it, and to be fashioned according to it" (*Strom.* i. 323). "But the secret things, like God, are entrusted to word, not to writing." Accordingly, Clement says he "will not write down all that he knows, lest by any chance he should impart the *knowledge*¹ to some one incapable of receiving it, and so 'cast pearls before swine.'"

In the case of the Hebrews, according to Clement, an unwritten tradition was clearly referred to in the words, "For when ye ought to be teachers for the time, ye have need that one teach you which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

He also says that certain things were concealed until the times of the Apostles; and were by them delivered as they had received them from the Lord. In support of this statement he quotes the verses of Ephesians iii. 3-5, "By revelation the mystery *was made known* (the better of the two readings) to me which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men as it is now revealed to His holy Apostles and prophets." Scripture is obscure, he tells us, for two reasons: first, that we may become more curious and more watchful in the discovery of the words of life; and secondly, lest we should be harmed by taking the words in a wrong sense.

It is only they who have been trained in the first

¹ ἐγνωρίσθη and ἐγνώρισε.

principles of Christian knowledge, "the milk," that Clement admits to that fuller insight unto the divine mysteries which St. Paul called "meat."

In the *Stromateis* (i. 292) he writes—"He who wishes to be enlightened by the power of God must accustom himself to philosophize on spiritual things. A logical cultivation of mind is necessary in order to understand the ambiguous and equivocal words of scripture."¹

"For neither prophecy nor the Saviour Himself announced the divine mysteries in a way that all might understand, but expressed them in parables."

"Of Him the Apostles said, 'He spake all things in parables'; and if 'all things were made by Him,' prophecy and law were made by Him, and were uttered by Him in parables."

Clement tells us *en passant*, that our Lord did not intend to cause but merely predicted the blindness of the Jews when He said, "Therefore speak I to them in parables: because they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand."

"But all things are plain," saith the Scripture,² "to those who understand," that is, to those who receive and preserve the exposition of the Scriptures given by Him according to the *ecclesiastical rule*."

¹ This reservation of the truth has been compared by some with the *Disciplina Arcani* of the Roman Church, but corresponds rather with a form of advanced instruction, of which more anon.

² Proverbs viii. 9.

HIS ECCLESIASTICAL CANON.

"The false ones," he writes in his *Stromateis* (vi. 803), "are not they who conform for the sake of salvation, nor they who are mistaken in matters of detail, but they who have gone astray in essentials, and as far as in them lies reject the Lord and take away His true teaching, not quoting or delivering the Scriptures in a manner worthy of God and our Lord. For the deposit which is rendered to God, according to the teaching of our Lord handed down to us by His Apostles, is the comprehension and the practice of the divine tradition, 'And what ye hear in the ear' (that is, in a secret and mysterious manner, for such things are in a figure said to be spoken in the ear), 'proclaim aloud upon the housetops, receiving them in an exalted mood, and delivering them in sublime strains, and explaining the Scriptures according to the *canon of truth*.'"

This canon,¹ which he defines (*Strom.* vi. 803) as "the harmony and agreement of the law and the prophets with the covenant which was given at the appearance of our Lord," *i. e.* the harmony of the Old and New Testaments in the Incarnation of Christ, was for Clement merely a guide to the interpretation of truth, a clue to the hidden sense of prophecy and

¹ It is a great pity that his work, the ecclesiastical canon mentioned by Eusebius, has been lost. It might have thrown some light on this oral tradition.

parable, not an independent source of doctrine. By following this rule, by reading law and prophecy in the light of the Incarnation, the true Gnostic was saved from the errors of the false Gnostic, who had no such method of interpretation. For the true Gnostic grows old in the study of the Scriptures, and carefully adheres to the apostolic and ecclesiastical *division* of doctrines.

THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

In Clement's day there was no fixed canon of Scripture. He treated the Alexandrine Old Testament which contained the Apocryphal books as corresponding to the revised text of Ezra: telling us that "the Scriptures were translated into the Greek language, that the Greeks might never be able to plead ignorance, inasmuch as they can now hear what we have in our hands."

Clement gives quotations from all the books of the Old Testament except 2 Chronicles, the Book of Ruth, the Song of Solomon, and the Vision of Obadiah (although he mentions its author), and he uses the Apocryphal books freely and without distinction.

He quotes three books, the Ecclesiasticus (fifty-three times), the Book of Wisdom, and the Proverbs, under the same title of ἡ Σοφία, evidently regarding them as parts of one work, and treating the first-named works as canonical Scripture.

He makes use of Baruch under the name of Jeremiah, and speaks of the work as "the divine

Scripture." He calls the Book of Tobit Scripture, saying, "This hath the Scripture declared in this brief saying, 'What you rate, do not to another'" (Tobit iv. 16).

Moreover, there are references to be found in his works to the Book of the Maccabees, Judith, and Esdras. Of the Apocryphal Gospels he quotes that according to the Egyptians,¹ in connection with the question that Salome put to Christ, "How long will men go on dying?" and the answer, "So long as women go on bearing." He takes the sentence, "Wonder at the present things," from the *Paradoseis*² (Traditions) of Matthias, a work from which the Gnostic heretics Valentinus, Marcion, and Basileides derived support for several of their opinions. In confirmation of his argument, that wonder is the beginning of knowledge, he cites the well-known saying from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: "He who has wondered will reign, and he who has reigned will rest."

Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14) tells us that Clement quoted from the Apocalypse of Peter in the *Hypotyposeis*.

¹ Clement admits that the work does not hold the same position as the four Gospels handed down by tradition.

² Cf. *Strom.* iii. 436, and *Strom.* vii. 748: "They say that Matthias the Apostle, in his *Traditions* said, among other things: 'If the neighbour of an elect person sin, the elect has sinned, for if he had borne himself as the Word commands, his neighbour would have too much respect for his life (*i.e.* the elect's life) to sin.'"

In the *Selections from the Prophets* we find at least three references to that work. One of these passages is very remarkable. Speaking of the children who have been exposed after birth, he tells us that Peter in the Apocalypse¹ says, "A flame of fire plays round

¹ As the *Apocalypse of Peter* has been recently discovered, it may be of some interest to our readers to give the English of the passage of that work, which Clement has preserved for us in his writings. The first passage is from *The Selections from the Prophetic Scriptures* (p. 365), and runs: "The Scripture says that infants exposed are handed over to a guardian (τηλεμούχῳ) angel to be trained and educated, and they shall be as the faithful of a hundred years here;" wherefore Peter speaks in his Apocalypse of "the flame of lightning playing round their heads and dazzling the eyes of the women; for the just shines out like a spark in a reed, and will judge the nations." The second passage is in the 48th chapter of the same work, and runs: "Peter says in the Apocalypse, that children that die before they come to the birth will be the recipients of a better lot, and will be handed over to a guardian angel, that they may receive knowledge and obtain a better abode, and endure what they would have endured had they been born, but the others will obtain salvation only, and as victims of injustice and objects of pity shall remain without punishment, having obtained this reward."

We can only present the third passage, which occurs in the next paragraph, in this somewhat diluted form: "The milk, says Peter in the Apocalypse, will generate small carnivorous animalculæ, which, returning whence they have come, proceed to feed upon it." Thus he pointed the moral that punishments are the results of sins. "For he says that they (punishments) are the outcome of sins (ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν γέννησθαι αὐτάς, i. e. κολάσεις) just as the people was sold because of sins; and because they did not believe in Christ as the Apostle says, they were bitten by serpents."

their heads, and blinds the eyes of the women." Clement also gives several long quotations from the *Preaching of Peter*, which Neander believed to be the work of some Gnostic.¹

On seven occasions he adduces passages from the Epistle of Barnabas, whom he calls 'the "Apostolic Barnabas."' One of these deserves insertion. "And Barnabas, after that he had said, 'Woe to those who are wise in their own conceits and clever in their own eyes,' added, 'Let us become spiritual, a complete temple in God, practising as far as in us lies the fear of God, and striving to keep His commandments that we may rejoice in His judgments.'"

We find several passages on martyrdom taken from the Roman Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians,

¹ The *Preaching* (κῆρυγμα) of *Peter* was another work not received by the Christian world as genuine (*Eusebius*, iii. 3), but largely used in the early Church. Thanks to the long quotations which we have from this work in Clement's *Stromateis*, we have some idea of its nature, and find that it contains many interesting parallels to the *Apology* of Aristides, the Syriac text of which has been recently found. In the *Stromateis* (i. 428) he says: "In the *Preaching of Peter* you will find the Lord called both Law and Logos." This remark is repeated, *Stromateis*, ii. 460. In the sixth Book of the same work (p. 805) a long passage is introduced with these words: "Wherefore Peter in his *Preaching* concerning the Apostles said: When we have unfolded the manuscript we have of the prophets, etc. . . ." In the fifth chapter of the same Book he begins an interesting passage with the words: "Peter says in his *Preaching*, Know that there is one God, etc., etc." There are, besides these, two other important fragments of the *Preaching* quoted in the *Stromateis*.

which is called in another connection the Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians. Clement refers to the author as the Apostle Clement. Finally, there are numerous reminiscences of the Shepherd of Hermas; and the works of Tatian, scattered through the different treatises of this copious writer. With the exception of the last-named, Clement evidently regarded all the books from which he quoted as "apostles and prophets," he wrote, "undoubtedly, as more or less on the same level of inspiration with those Scriptures which we speak of as canonical."

THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE.

On the vexed question of the inspiration of Scripture it is interesting to consult Clement. "The disciples of the Spirit spake what the Spirit communicated to them; but we can depend on no such spiritual guidance, which supersedes all human means of culture, to enable us to unfold the hidden sense of their words. A scientific culture of the mind is necessary to enable us to evolve the full meaning of what was imparted indeed to them by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, *but which they conveyed in their own language*" (*Strom.* i. 292). Clement does not therefore seem to have been an advocate of verbal inspiration, although he certainly believed in some kind of inspiration: for he says (*Strom.* vii. 894), "God leads men according to the divinely-inspired Scriptures;" and in *Stromateis*, vii. 893, "To be

displeased with the divine commands is to be displeased with the Holy Spirit ;” and again, “The prophets were the instruments (or organs) of the Divine Voice” (*Strom.* vii. 828).

CLEMENT'S METHOD OF QUOTATION.

In Clement's writings we find numerous quotations from the Scriptures. The text of these quotations is, however, often very incorrect.

We find one frequently recurring form of misquotation, the mixed reading, *i. e.* a reading in which we have a mixture of two narratives. For example, we find the reading, “Thou art my beloved Son, this day have I begotten Thee,” which is a confusion of two different passages, viz. Psalm ii. 7, “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee,” and Luke iii. 22, “Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”

Moreover, his reading of Matthew vi. 32, “But seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and righteousness, for these are the chief things ; and the things which are small and belong to this life, these things shall be added to you ;” and his reading of Luke xii. 31, “Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you,” are evidently due to a blending of different texts.

This class of incorrect quotation may be traced to the influence of such works as Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or *Harmony of the Gospels*, and the extension of

that writer's method of searching Scripture for correspondences to the Old Testament.

There are other readings which may have been widely diffused in his day, such as ὑποπιέζω (press down) instead of ὑποπιάζω (discipline) in 1 Corinthians ix. 27.

In John i. 3 he adopted the reading popular among those who denied the divinity of the Word, ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, "That which has been made in Him was life," instead of putting a full stop after γέγονεν.

In the Epistles, however, where he was not influenced by Tatian, he preserves some important original readings, such as the reading "her due"¹ (R.V.), not "due benevolence"² (A.V.), in 1 Cor. vii. 3.

He frequently assigns passages of Scripture to wrong authors, *e. g.* attributing the words of the Psalm (xxiv. 4), "Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me," to some prophet, and the words of Amos iv. 13 to Hosea.

He also quotes passages from Scripture which are not to be found in it, *e. g.* "Moses said to the Hebrews, Thou shalt not eat the hare or the hyæna;" "Be ye good money-changers;" "You have seen your brother, you have seen the Lord;" "Ask for great things and small things will be given to you;" "A sweet savour to God is the heart that honours Him who has chastened it;" "The true man is one who is worth the whole world of money; whereas the false one is not worth a farthing" (quoted as a saying of Solomon).

¹ τὴν ὀφειλήν.

² τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὐνοίαν.

CLEMENT'S METHOD OF INTERPRETATION.

It was not Clement's desire to add to or to subtract from the Scriptures, which he regarded as the exposition of the government of the Divine Word, but to interpret them. And this he did in the peculiar method of Alexandria, treating the simple story of family and national life that we find in the Hexateuch as a spiritual allegory. For example, he saw in the coat of many colours the varied knowledge that Joseph possessed.

An interesting specimen of his Scriptural exegesis will be found in the sixth book of the *Stromateis* (133), where Clement gives his interpretation of the "Ten Words" (the Decalogue).

"Let the Decalogue," he says, "be set forth *en passant* as a specimen for Gnostic exposition. It is superfluous to say that ten is a sacred number. But if the tables which were written were the work of God, they will be found to exhibit natural creation. For the 'finger of God' means the power of God, by which the creation of heaven and earth is accomplished. Of both these the tables must be understood to be symbols. For the writing and formation of God put on the tables is the creation of the world. Now the Decalogue, as a heavenly image, contains sun and moon, stars, clouds, light, spirit, water, air, darkness, and fire. This is the natural Decalogue of heaven. And the image of the earth contains men,

cattle, reptiles, beasts, and of creatures that exist in water, fishes and whales, and again of birds, those that are carnivorous and those that use mild food, and of plants likewise, both the fertile and the barren. This is the natural Decalogue of the earth. And the ark which contains them would be the knowledge of things human and divine, and wisdom.

Moreover, it may be said that the two tables are a prophecy of two covenants. So they were mystically renewed when ignorance and sin abounded. The commandments have thus a twofold purpose to serve, being written for two different kinds of spirits, the ruling and the subject spirit. "For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh."

And there is a *ten* in man as well—the five senses, the faculty of speech, the power of reproduction, the spiritual principle given at his formation, which is the eighth, the ruling faculty of the soul, which is the ninth, and that character, the property of the Holy Spirit, which is the tenth.

To turn now to his explanations of the different commandments, which we may observe are not given in their usual order, the comment on the fifth commandment is very far-fetched. "By father," he says, "God is meant, and by mother, not as some suppose that from which they sprang, nor, as others again teach, the Church, but the divine knowledge and wisdom, called by Solomon 'the Mother of the Just.'"

When explaining the seventh commandment, he

observed that adultery means the desertion of the true knowledge of God, and the propagation of some false opinion, either by deifying some created object, or by making an idol of something that does not exist. Fornication is thus for him a synonym of idolatry.

Again, murder is the destruction of the truth, either by alleging that the universe is not under Providence, or that the world is uncreated, or by any other false opinion; while theft is when men claim to be the authors of what they are not, and so take away honour from God by asserting that they are masters of what He alone has made; or when they imitate philosophy like the Greeks.

When writing a note on the 19th Psalm, Clement, always on the watch for mystical meanings, saw in the words "Day unto day uttereth speech," a reference to a written, and in "Night unto night sheweth knowledge," a reference to a mysterious doctrine.

Perhaps one of his best comments is that on Matthew v. 29, where he says that the command to "pluck out the right eye" is a direction to pull out the evil lusts by the roots.

These are a few samples of that method of interpretation, according to which contradictory statements were reconciled, and unconnected passages were brought into correspondence with equal facility by him who could find in Hesiod's poems references to Abraham and the rejection of the Messiah.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS

It has been remarked over and over again that Clement was strangely reticent on the subject of dogma. Various explanations of this concealment have been given. According to certain writers, the Christian Doctrine was in a nebulous condition in the age of Clement, being without any distinct baptismal formula, or even a general summary of faith. But this is hardly a sufficient or satisfactory solution of the question, as we shall see further on. For it is not likely that the Catechetical School of Alexandria in the second century was without a precise formula of faith.

Besides, Clement constantly refers to an "ecclesiastical canon," to the "true and divine tradition," and to the "Gospel canon." He speaks also of a "Homologia" (*ὁμολογία*), or Confession of Faith. We must take into consideration the fact that Clement's economy in this respect is largely due to his not being willing to subject the dogmas of the Christian

religion to the scoffing criticism of the "uninitiated,"¹ to whom he did not wish the "sacred tradition" to be accessible (*Strom.* VII. cap. xviii.). We must also remember that he was writing as a philosopher on the philosophy of Christianity, and not as a historian of the Christian Church, and we must not expect to find in the works of our author any precise definition of the Church and the Sacraments, or any special reference to the Christian organization and its three orders. It is extraordinary, however, considering the philosophical bias of Clement's mind, to find so many allusions as we do to the Church principle and life.

We shall now quote some of these references.

THE CHURCH.

"The Church," writes Clement, "is like a human being consisting of many members, and is nourished by the spiritual life imparted by an indwelling Saviour. For the food He promises His disciples is Himself, the Word of God, the Spirit made flesh" (*Pæd.* 124).

"While the Holy Spirit is spoken of, in a figure, as the Bread, and the Blood is a type of the Word, the Bread and the Blood are both united in the Lord, Who is Spirit and Word" (*Pæd.* 124).

"The Universal Father is one, and the Universal

¹ ὥς μὴ βῆδ' ἔλναι τῷ περιτυχόντι τῶν ἀμυήτων τὴν τῶν ἁγίων παραδόσεων εὐρασίαν (*Stromateis*, VII. cap. xviii. § 110).

Word is one, the Holy Spirit is one and the same everywhere, and the *only virgin mother*—not Mary, but the Church—is one also. This is the Church which alone had not milk because she alone was not a woman. But she is at once virgin and mother, nursing her children with the holy milk of the Word of life" (*Pæd.* 123).

When commenting on the Lord's words, "You shall eat My flesh and drink My blood," he says: "That which is drunk is clearly a symbol of the faith and the hope, by which *the Church as a man*, consisting of many members, is watered and increased, is welded together and made one out of both—body, which is faith, and soul, which is hope, just as our Lord had flesh and blood" (*Pæd.* 121).

"This is the food on which the Church is fed and nourished, growing and living in the one personal Christ, who delivers man from sin by indwelling in the race, and by leading it to all perfection."

"There is no distinction of elect and non-elect in this Church of God. For all men are one, because there is one Universal Father and one Universal Word. But there is organic life. The Church is a living organism. It is a sanctified humanity, because indwelt in by the Source of life, and because purified by grace, through which Christ works because He is her Head" (*Pæd.* ii. 214).

"Let us complete," he says (*Pæd.* 310), "the fair person (*πρόσωπον*, Latin *persona*) of the Church

and run as children to the good mother, and if we become hearers of the Word, let us glorify that blessed *economy* by which man is trained up, sanctified as a child of God,¹ and made a citizen of the kingdom of heaven" (*πολιτεύεται ἐν οὐρανοῖς*). The reference here may be either to the Incarnation, which is often spoken of by the Fathers as an "economy," or to the Church, into which Clement says in a following paragraph (p. 312), that the *Pædagogus* (*i.e.* the Word) "introduced us and thus to Himself."

In *Pædagogus*, i. 6, Clement says, "As God's will (*θέλημα*) is an effect, and is called the universe, so His design (*βούλημα*) is the salvation of men, and this is called Ecclesia (the Church). He knows them whom He has called, whom He has saved; He called and saved at the same time."

"It is not the place, but the congregation of the elect that I call the Church," he remarks in the *Stromateis* (vii. 10), "it is the great temple of God, the individual being the small temple" (*Stromateis*, vii. 14); "it is the divine will on earth as in heaven" (*Stromateis*, vii. 19); "it is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayer" (*Stromateis*, vii. 19); "it is the image of the Church in heaven," which Clement

¹ In another passage (*Pæd.* iii. 312), when speaking of God, he says: "Of Whom we all are members." Thus we have in Clement an anticipation of the very formula of our Catechism, "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven."

describes now as the "heavenly Jerusalem," now as "the Church on high above the clouds touching the heavens," and now as "the holy assembly of love."

His favourite definition of the Church (*Ἐκκλησία*) is that which consists of those whom God has called (*κέκληκεν*) and saved (*σέσωκεν*). This call was for all, not for a few. All, however, do not receive it. "It is the preconceived opinions of men," he says, "that lead them to disobedience. For the advent of the Saviour did not make people foolish, hard of heart, and unbelieving, but wise, amenable to persuasion, and believing. But they who would not believe, separating themselves of their own free will from those who obeyed, were found to be foolish and faithless."

Thus Clement in no way limits the love and grace of God. He regards salvation as a matter for our own individual will, and not as the result of an arbitrary decree; as something intended to be universal in efficacy and extent, and not as the selection of the few to the exclusion of the many.

Clement was not blind to the *historic claims* of the Church. When discussing the origin of the different heresies (*Stromateis*, vii. 17), he says, "Since this is the case, it is plain, I think, from the high antiquity¹ and truth of the Church, that these later heresies, and those

¹ The priority of the Catholic Church is a favourite argument with Clement when in controversy with the heretics (cf. *Strom.* vii. 898).

still subsequent to them, were false innovations. From what has been said, it seems evident to me that the true Church, the really ancient Church, into which are enrolled those who are just of set purposes (*κατὰ πρόθεσιν*), is one."

Speaking of the *unity* of the Church, he says, "For since God is one, and the Lord is one, that which is of supreme importance is praised because it is one, being an imitation of the one principle; the one Church has then a joint heritage in the nature of the one, but these heresies strive to divide it into many sects. In substance, then, in idea, in principle, and in excellence, we say that the ancient and Catholic Church stands alone and gathers together into the unity of one faith—which is founded on the corresponding testaments, or rather the one Testament given at various times, by the will of the one God through our Lord—all those whom God predestinated,¹ having known that they would be just before the foundation of the world. But the excellence of the Church as the principle of union lies in its *oneness*, in its surpassing all other things, and having nothing equal to or like itself."

In *Stromateis*, vii. 15, our author makes reply to the objections of those who refuse to join the communion of the Church on account of the number of prevailing sects and heresies, by saying that while there is one high-road, there are many other roads, some ending in

¹ Clement, like St. Paul (Romans viii. 29), makes the pre-ordaining Will of God depend on His foreknowledge.

a precipice and others in a river, but that in consequence of this fact people do not abstain from a journey, but they will make use of "the safe, the royal, the frequented path." By parity of reasoning, the truth, he goes on to say, is not to be abandoned, for in it true knowledge is to be found, because the true Gnostic follows the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical division of doctrine (*ὁρθοτομίαν*, *Strom.* vii. 899).¹

Clement lays great stress upon the *truth* of the Church, as we have seen from his own words: "Therefore it is evident from the fact that the Church is most ancient and *most true*, that the heresies which arose afterwards were false innovations; and it is clear from what we have said that the *true* Church, the really historic Church, is one" (*Strom.* vii. 900).

In another passage (*Pæd.* 123) cited above, we have the *universal* nature of the Church suggested by its connection with the universality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Moreover, the Church is a bride, and must be *pure*, pure from the evil thoughts that arise from within, and militate against the truth, pure from those who tempt her from without, who follow after heresies and persuade us to be false to the one man who is Almighty God (*Strom.* iii. 547). The Church is also *faithful*, "for the virtue which keeps the Church together, as

¹ Cf. St. Paul's expression, "rightly dividing the word of truth."

the Shepherd says, is faith by which the elect of God are saved" (*Strom.* ii. 459).

We thus find in the works of Clement these notes of the catholicity of the Church, antiquity, truth, unity, purity, faithfulness, and universality. We also find an organized ministry. For Clement makes the usual distinction between the clergy and the laity, and between the different Orders of the former. Speaking of St. Paul's precept concerning matrimony, he says: "Nay, he (St. Paul) allows him to be the husband of one wife, whether he be presbyter or deacon¹ or layman" ² (*Strom.* iii. 552).

THE ORDERS IN THE MINISTRY.

In the third book of the *Pædagogus* (p. 310), when enumerating certain precepts from the Holy Scriptures for his pupils, he adds: "But there are very many more counsels in Scripture which refer to certain persons; of these some concern the presbyters, some the bishops, some the deacons, and others the widows, and of these I shall speak at another time." We gather from these words that Clement believed that the Scriptures allotted their several offices and duties to the bishops, priests, and deacons.

The writings of Origen, a pupil of Clement, contain a remarkable echo of these words. In his work, *On*

¹ See page 249, on *deaconesses*.

² *καὶ λαϊκός*. For "clergy," vide *Q. D. S.*, c. 42. *κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων*.

Prayer, he says : " In addition to these more general duties, there is the duty we owe the widow who is cared for by the Church, and another duty we owe the deacon, and another duty we owe the presbyter, and, the most important of all, that which we owe the bishop."

In the *Stromateis*, vii. 830, it is true, as Blondellus (*De Episc. et Presbyt.* ii. 36) has pointed out, that Clement only mentions the two orders of presbyter and deacon. But then he was distinguishing between the position of those who improve and that of those who wait upon others. " There are two departments in the service of man," he says ; " one of these is devoted to improvement, and the other to attendance. Medicine improves the body and philosophy the mind. Parents and rulers are served, the former by their children and the latter by their subjects. So in the Church, the presbyters are like those who improve, and the deacons are like those who serve."

It would have spoiled the comparison to have said " the bishops and presbyters," seeing that the presbyters are themselves subject to the bishops. There was no necessity, therefore, for Clement to mention the bishops in this passage, as he was simply comparing the functions of the diaconate with those of the presbyterate. His silence concerning that order is not a proof that he was not aware of its existence or of its functions. One might equally well say, because he did not mention mathematics or jurisprudence, that

he knew nothing about the existence or use of these sciences. It is true that in another passage (*Q.D.S.*, 41) he called a bishop the presbyter. Whether he was alluding to his age or to the fact that "every bishop is a presbyter, although every presbyter is not a bishop,"¹ we do not know, but we have found no passage in his works in which he ascribes the function of a bishop to a presbyter.

In the story of St. John and the Robber, incorporated into the *Tract on the Rich Man* (c. 42), we find strong testimony to the fact that Clement was well aware that the Church was regularly organized on an episcopal basis by the Apostles themselves.

After John's return from Ephesus, we are told in it that "he went to the neighbouring nations, here to *appoint bishops*, there to found and establish whole churches, and in other places to set apart for the ministry those who were marked out by the Spirit." It is related also that he spoke to "the bishop who had been appointed over the district," and addressed him as "Bishop."

Referring to the passage, 1 Timothy iii. 4, 5, he says: "They should be appointed bishops who from ruling their own homes well have studied to rule the Church" (*Strom.* iii. 547).

Eusebius tells us (*H. E.*, ii. 1) that Clement in the sixth book of his *Outlines* says—"Peter and James

¹ Omnis episcopus presbyter, non tamen omnis presbyter episcopus (*Irenæus, Ep. ad Tim.*, c. 3).

and John, after the ascension of the Saviour, seeing that they had been pre-eminently honoured by the Lord, did not contend for glory, but elected James the Just to be Bishop of Jerusalem."

There is a very interesting chapter (*Strom.* vi. 13), in which Clement shows that there are degrees of glory in heaven corresponding with the dignities of the Church below. In this chapter he gives a description of the respective works of the bishop, priest, and deacon.¹

"They who have trained themselves in the Lord's commandments," he writes, "and have lived perfectly and gnostically (after the manner of the true Gnostic), according to the Gospel, may be numbered in the chosen body of the apostles.² He is really a

¹ Clement makes a passing allusion to deaconesses, whom he says the Apostles led about with them to assist in the work of introducing the gospel-teaching into private households.

² The reference here is clearly to the first of the three Orders, the episcopate, which took the place of the apostolate after the death of the Apostles, and which had precedence of the presbyterate. Theodoret says in the course of his remarks on 1 Cor. xii. 28, that the early Christians used to call apostles those who are now addressed as bishops. The same commentator held that Epaphroditus was bishop of the Church of Philippi, because Paul called him "Apostle."

The converse case is sometimes found. Of Judas the Apostle it is said, "his bishopric (*ἐπισκοπήν*) let another take" (Acts i. 20). Epiphanius, in his works on the heresies (27. 6), speaks of Peter and Paul as apostles and bishops. St. Peter himself spoke of his Master as "the Bishop of your souls." The apostolate therefore prepared the way for and delegated its powers to

presbyter of the Church, and a true minister (deacon) of the will of God who does and teaches what is the

the episcopate, the first of the three Orders, and not to the presbyterate, the second. The office conferred on Timothy and Titus by St. Paul is a proof of this. Titus was left in Crete to appoint presbyters in every city (Titus i. 5). Timothy was requested to remain at Ephesus in order to charge some that they teach no other doctrine (1 Tim. i. 3).

Both Timothy and Titus were instructed in the character of the persons they were to ordain as overseers (bishops), and elders (presbyters), and ministers (deacons) (Titus i. 6, 7; 1 Tim. iii.).

Timothy formally received the power of ordination. "Lay hands suddenly on no man" (1 Tim. v. 22). He was to exercise a certain control over the "elders," but not to receive an accusation against any but before two or three witnesses (1 Tim. v. 19), and he was to hand on the things he had heard from Paul "to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii. 2). In this way St. Paul provided for a regular succession in the ministry of the Church in these places. Had the Church of Ephesus and Crete, however, been under the control of the local presbyters at the time, we could not conceive a greater outrage than such an invasion of their rights. Scripture accordingly bears witness not only to the existence of these orders in the lifetime of the Apostles,—apostles, presbyters (the principal presbyters being called "overseers"), and deacons, but also to the institution of a new order, upon which apostolic power and authority were devolved, and which was not the presbyterate, but above it. St. John calls the heads of the Churches, "Angels." St. Clement of Rome (95 A.D. *circ.*), in his Epistle to the Corinthians (c. 44), says: "And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the *episcopate*" (ἡ ἐπισκοπή). Therefore, being fully aware of this, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and then gave direction that when they fell asleep, other approved men should succeed

Lord's, not as ordained ¹ alone of men, nor as righteous because a presbyter, but because righteous enrolled among the presbyters.

In conclusion Clement writes: "Such will be honoured by being placed on one of the four-and-twenty thrones. Since, according to my opinion, the various steps in the Church, of bishop, presbyter, and deacon,

to their ministry. He had just mentioned the fact that they (*i.e.* the Apostles), "preaching through countries and cities, appointed the first-fruits of their ministry to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe" (c. 42). Ignatius (107 A.D. *circ.*), in his letters to the Churches of Asia, on his way to martyrdom, impressed again and again upon the Christians the duty of obeying and reverencing their bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and especially of living in unity with their bishop. "I exhort you," he wrote to the Magnesians, "that ye do all things in a divine concord, your bishop presiding in the place of God, your presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles, and your deacons, most dear to me, entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ." Accordingly at the end of the first century of the Christian era, we find the three orders fully established in the principal churches of Asia. So long as the Apostles were able to visit their churches in person, it was not necessary for them to appoint one fixed overseer (bishop). But when, like St. Paul, they found the care of all the Churches too heavy a burden, it was time for them to delegate their powers to fit persons selected from the chief of the elders (presbyters) to be their successors. To such the name of "bishop" was limited under the new system; though previously it seems to have been applied to the superintending or presiding elders (Acts xx. 28).

¹ This is metaphorical language, but we gather from it that Clement was alluding to the existing practice of admitting Christians to the sacred orders of deacon and priest by imposition of hands.

are imitations of the angelic glory. For these, taken up into the clouds, will first minister as deacons, then as presbyters, until they grow into the perfect man." In this way he distinguished the different orders of the ministry from one another, and showed that these are not all equal in rank or function.

CLEMENT ON BAPTISM.

There are many interesting references to the rite and meaning of Baptism in the works of St. Clement. In the *Pædagogus* (i. 113) he writes—"Being baptized we are illuminated, being illuminated we are adopted, being adopted we are made immortal." "This work," he goes on to say, "has many titles, grace,¹ illumination,² that which is perfect,³ and the laver.⁴ It is a 'laver,' because we are through it cleansed from sin; it is 'grace,' because by it the punishment of sin is remitted; it is illumination, because by it we see that holy saving light, and our sight is made keen to see God; and it is perfect because it is complete, for what doth he need who knows God? Surely it is absurd to call that which is not perfect the grace of God, for He Who is Perfect will give perfect gifts."

In another passage Clement speaks of "the laver" as the synonym of salvation. In his *Exhortation to the Heathen* he writes: "Receive then the water of

¹ χάρισμα.

² φώτισμα.

³ τέλειον.

⁴ λουῖτρον.

the Word; wash, ye stained ones; purify yourselves from custom by sprinkling yourselves with the drops of truth."

In the *Pædagogus* (i. 116) he derives the Greek word for man ($\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$) from that which man was intended to receive—light ($\phi\hat{\omega}\varsigma$). "Our sins," he says, "have been removed by one Pæonian remedy, the baptism of the Word." In the sixth chapter of the same work he alludes to the repentance and renunciation, of which Baptism is at once seal and earnest, in these terms: "Likewise we repenting of our sins, renouncing our iniquities, and purified by baptism, hasten back to the Eternal Light, children of the Father."

In another passage (*Strom.* ii. 3, c.) he shows how the heretic Basileides tries to reduce baptism, the blessed seal (baptism, or the laying on of hands afterwards) of the Son and the Father, to absurdities.

Clement refers (*Pædagogus*, i. 103) to the custom of giving the newly-baptized a mixture of milk and honey, a symbol of the promised land¹ flowing with milk and honey, and of all the privileges which the baptized possess. He also speaks of the custom of mixing wine with milk,² which Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah (lv. 1) says prevailed among the Western Churches.

¹ "On being born again, we are honoured with the hope of the rest, receiving the promise of the Jerusalem above, in which it is written, 'milk and honey abound'" (*Pæd.* i. 108).

² Cf. Tertullian: "Deus mellis et lactis societate suos infantat." God nourishes his infants in the society of milk and honey.

This latter compound most probably answered to the chrism. In the same work (paragraph 256, Potter's edition) he makes a strong protest against the kiss of brotherhood which the baptized were privileged to inflict on other Christians. He tells us that he objects to this custom, the display that was made of it in the churches, and the evils that might and did arise from it. According to him, love was evinced in brotherly feeling not in outward demonstrations.

Clement alludes to infant baptism in the *Pædagogus* (l. 3, c. 11) in the expression "the children drawn out of water,"¹ and uses a remarkable figure of speech in his *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, where he says, "We must quench the fiery darts of the wicked with watery points baptized by the Word."

We must now try to set down what our teacher said on the difficult subject of baptismal regeneration. In the first place, we notice a marked distinction in the use of the words ἀναγεννᾶν and παλιγγενεσία. When speaking of baptism he almost invariably uses some part or derivative of the verb ἀναγεννᾶν—to regenerate, e.g. we are made precious immediately after our regeneration;² and "my view is this, that He Himself fashioned man from clay; regenerated him in water;³ made him grow by the Spirit, trained him by word for Sonship and Salvation, directing him by sacred

¹ τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπασμένων παιδιῶν.

² εὐθὺς ἀναγεννηθέντες τετιμήμεθα.

³ ἀναγεννησai δὲ ὕδατι.

precepts, in order that transforming the earth-born into a holy heavenly thing, by His coming He might fulfil to the uttermost that divine expression, 'Let us make man in Our Own image and likeness.'"

But in the *Exhortation to the Heathen* (p. 21) he says: "Let us hasten to salvation, let us hasten to the *Regeneration*;¹ though we be many let us hasten to be united in the union of one Essence." Here Clement is evidently speaking of the state of the righteous after the Resurrection.

In his *Tract on the Rich Man* he uses the words "giving a great example of a genuine repentance and a great token of *reformation*."² Again he says, "She who is a sinner lives to sin but is dead to the commandments; but she who has repented, being born again by conversion of life, has regeneration."³ In this passage he uses the two expressions side by side, in such a way, however, that it is not hard to see that he regarded *παλιγγενεσία*, the new birth, as the joint result of regeneration (*ἀναγέννησις*)—God's part in the renewal of man—and of repentance (*μετάνοια*), "which purifies the place of the soul" (*Strom.* ii. 459), man's part in the return to the Father. We might almost distinguish the meaning of these terms so: *ἀναγέννησις*

¹ *παλιγγενεσίαν*: cf. Matt. xix. 28. "In the *regeneration* when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory," etc.

² *παλιγγενεσία*.

³ Ὅσον ἀναγεννηθεῖσα κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ βίου ἔχει παλιγγενεσίαν.

is the beginning of that state which is perfected in *παλιγγενεσία*.

Perhaps the strongest passage on the importance and efficacy of Baptism that is to be found in all Clement's works is paragraph 552 (Potter's edition) of the third book of the *Stromateis*. He is there commenting on the words, "Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven," and says that these words mean: "Do not consider him who has begotten you in the body to be the author and cause of your essence, but the assistant in your generation, or rather the minister of it. So He wishes you to be turned and to become again as little children, recognizing the true Father, and regenerated through water, this being another sowing in the Creation."¹

Again he says (*Strom.* iv. 637): "For this was the meaning of the saying, 'Unless ye be converted and become as little children, pure in body, holy in soul, and abstaining from evil works,' showing that He wishes us to be such as He has begotten from the womb of water" (*ἐκ μήτρας ὕδατος*). He describes the water of Baptism as "the logical water" (*i. e.* the water of the Word, *Exhort. to Heathen*, 79); in the *Pædagogus* (i. 113) he mentions the deliverance from darkness, the illumination, the adoption, the perfection, and the immortality that are given to us by baptism; and

¹ δι' ὕδατος ἀναγεννηθέντας, ἄλλης ταύτης (*i. e.* Baptism) οὐσης ἐν τῇ κτίσει σπορᾶς (*Strom.* iii. 552).

immediately afterwards ascribes the same result of illumination to regeneration (ὁ μόνον ἀναγεννηθείς ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τοῦνομα ἔχει καὶ φωτισθείς); and he speaks of Christ as He Who regenerates (ὁ ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς) by the Spirit unto sonship all who turn to the Father (*Strom.* iii. 552).

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION.

Catechetical instruction¹ was very intimately connected with Baptism in the system of Clement. Indeed on one occasion he almost uses the term ἀναγεννήσαι (to give spiritual birth) as equivalent to the word to teach. This does not surprise us, seeing that it was a leading doctrine with Clement that the Word of God illuminates the reason of man.

In the *Pædagogus* (i. 6.) he says that catechetical instruction leads men to faith. Explaining the "meat" of 1 Corinthians, he says St. Paul means, "I have given you milk to drink, that is, I have poured into you knowledge, which is given by catechetical instruction, and nourishes unto eternal life." Again he says, "Meat is faith made into a foundation by catechetical instruction;" and while milk is the catechetical instruction, which is, as it were, the first nourishment of the soul, meat is the "speculation of the mystic"² (*Pædagogus*, i.).

¹ κατήχησις.

² ἐποπτική θεωρία. Here we may find the germ of the "Cambridge mysticism" of the last century.

When drawing a distinction between the carnal and spiritual mind he says in the same book, "The carnal are those who have just been admitted to this catechetical instruction." This form of instruction, although most extensive,—to judge from the words of *Stromateis* (vi. c. xi.), "He who gathers what may help the catechumen, especially when they are Greeks, must not abstain from science and erudition like some unreasoning animal, but must collect together as many helps as possible for his pupils,"—was not yet the perfect knowledge of the Gnostic, which is "the perfection of faith." The duty of a catechist was thus an onerous but a tender one; for, as Clement says, "We call him *father* who catechizes us; wisdom being a thing to be imparted and productive of affection to man" (*Stromateis*, i. 317).

It probably was the duty of the catechist to hand on to his pupils some confession or form of creed in which the principal articles of belief were summed up; for Clement says, "The first saving change from heathenism is faith, that is, a compendious knowledge of all that is necessary to salvation." That this creed was not yet committed to writing, we may infer from the words of the *Stromateis* (p. 319)—"Many of us have received the doctrine concerning God without writing through faith." It was no doubt that love of mystery, the predominant feature of the Alexandrian Church, owing to the influence of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which caused a prejudice against committing the

truths of religion to writing lest they should be profaned by the uninitiated.

There must have been some form of sound words which had been handed down by word of mouth in vogue in Clement's day.

It is matter of regret that he did not explain more explicitly what was the exact formula of faith which he held, and which he was content to define in general terms. He may have intended to do so in another volume of the *Stromateis* which he planned, but never lived to write. For he promised his readers in the beginning chapter of his fourth volume, to give an "abridged exposition of scripture, and other matters, which he had originally intended to deal with in one book, but was prevented from doing so on account of the number of subjects that were pressing."

Accordingly the question, Was the Church of Alexandria provided with a creed in the days of Clement? must resolve itself into the three following questions. (1) Do we find any reference to such a formula of faith in his various works? (2) Can we reproduce the principal articles of our creeds from his writings? (3) Do we find any traces of a fixed confession of faith before, during, and immediately after his lifetime?

If these three questions can be answered in the affirmative, we will establish by three lines of proof the probability of the fact that the Church of Alexandria was furnished with a creed in Clement's day.

In the first place, can we find any reference to a

fixed formula in the writings of our author? Professor Harnack (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, i. 267) says we cannot. He asserts that we cannot gather from the works of Clement that they had in Alexandria either a baptismal confession similar to the Roman, or that they understood by such expressions as "rule of faith," any fixed and apostolic summary of articles of belief. To prove this assertion he adduces the following passage from *Stromateis*, vii. 15. 90: "If any one should break covenants and his agreement with us (*i. e.* who are men, τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς), shall we abstain from the truth because of one who is false to his profession (τὴν ὁμολογίαν)? No; but as the just man dare not lie or invalidate any one of the things he promised, even so it is not right that we should transgress 'the ecclesiastical canon' in any respect, and especially we maintain the confession of these truths which are of the highest moment (τὴν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὁμολογίαν), while they (*i. e.* the heretics) transgress it."

In his comments on this passage, Prof. Harnack contends that the word *Homologia* never means a confession of faith in Clement's works, but confession in general, and that its content is given by the context; that it is possible that Clement referred to the Confession at Baptism, but that this is not certain, and that at any rate it is not proved that Clement identified his "ecclesiastical canon" with a formulated creed.

Now if we turn to the context (*Strom.* vii. 15), from which this passage is taken, we shall see that even on

Harnack's own hypothesis the word *Homologia* in the last clause can only refer to a special confession of faith. Clement is there answering the objections of those who refuse to become members of the Church on account of the dissension of heresies, and the consequent difficulty of ascertaining the truth. He then proceeds to argue from the necessity of truth in mundane matters to its necessity in spiritual concerns. If any man breaks his contract with us (τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς), who are men, shall we too prove faithless to ours? Nay, but as the just must always uphold the truth in every detail; so we must not allow the ecclesiastical canon—a higher covenant than any human one—to be broken in any particular. And we do maintain, above all things, the confession which concerns the highest matters of faith (i. e. τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς θεόν, *Strom.* iv. 4. 15) while they (the heretics) violate it.

In the light of the context the last sentence can only mean that we, the orthodox Christians, are staunch in every detail to the ecclesiastical canon and to the specific articles of our belief (ἡ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὁμολογία),¹ which the heretics have abandoned. For Clement's argument—"even as the right-minded man must be truthful and violate not a single one of the promises he has made (μηδὲν ὧν ὑπέσχηται ἀκυροῦν), so we are bound not to violate the ecclesiastical canon

¹ Origen says belief in God, in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit are τὰ μέγιστα (*De Princ.* 1).

in any respect (*κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον*), and we do guard above all things the confession which concerns the highest truths, but they violate it"—would have no force at all, if there is no specified creed, but merely a vague belief, which one might easily violate unconsciously in some way, and which would therefore be very difficult to guard in every particular.

On the contrary, this argument would have meaning if, as we believe, Clement was offering some definite form of confession (*Homologia*), that had the general consent of the Church to those who "refused to believe on account of the dissensions of the heretics" (*Strom.* vii. 887).

Moreover, the reference to "compacts" would have a special significance, if one might see (and why not?) in that word an allusion to the baptismal covenant which would imply a fixed form of renunciation and a fixed form of confession.

A suitable commentary on these words of his master is to be found in Origen's *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, where he says (n. 17): "If he who transgresses the compacts with men¹ (*τὰς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους συνθήκας*) be removed beyond the pale of society and safety, what must we say of those who through denial make null and void the covenants they have made with God, and return to Satan whom they renounced in their baptism?"

¹ Clement's words are: *συνθήκας καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*.

Clement distinctly refers to "the true teaching handed down from the Apostles to him" as "the Apostolic seeds" (*Strom.* i. 322), *i. e.* the germ from which the creed was evolved. He tells us (*Strom.* v. 659) that the Apostle distinguished between the *common faith* of the multitude and the perfection of the Gnostic, calling the former "foundation" (*θεμέλιον*). Now, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 12) includes repentance from dead works and faith toward God, the doctrine of baptisms, and the laying on of hands, of resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment in the "foundation" which would thus, in itself, constitute the nucleus of a creed. We would gather from the words of Clement (*Strom.* vi. 18 and 7) that a more elaborate and systematized form of faith was handed down by the Apostles. In the first of these passages he says that St. Paul teaches that "the *gnosis*, which is the perfection of the faith, extends beyond the form of religious instruction (*ἡ κατήχησις*), and is according to the glorious doctrine of the Lord and the ecclesiastical rule." And in the second, he says this *gnosis* was handed down orally from the Apostles by succession to a few.

In the *Stromateis* (vii. 834) he refers to a specific summary of the faith which he calls *ἡ ἐπιτομή τῆς σωτηρίας*. He also says "the faith" is a concise knowledge of the essentials (*Strom.* 865), which is in itself a good definition of a creed. He distinguishes the necessary truths which are the kernel of the faith

(συνέχοντα τὴν πίστιν) from things which are unessential and superfluous (*Strom.* i. 326).

Those who fall foul of the most important doctrines, τὰ κυριώτατα, he tells us (*Strom.* vi. 802), are they who reject and deny the Lord as far as they can, and deprive us of the true teaching of the Lord, asserting that the Scriptures are not in keeping with the dignity of God and our Lord.

We find a reference in *Pædagogus* (i. 116, ἀποταξάμενοι τοῖς ἐλαττώμασιν) to a form of Renunciation,¹ which was a part of the baptismal formularies.

In the first chapter of the fifth Book of the *Stromateis* we find a reference to six² distinct articles of faith in the Son. "There are some," he wrote, "who say that 'our faith concerns the Son, but that our knowledge is of the Spirit,' but they do not perceive that we must truly believe (1) in the Son ; (2) that He is the Son ; (3) that He came ; and (4) how He came ; and (5) concerning His Passion. But one must know Who is the Son of God. For neither is knowledge without faith, nor is faith without knowledge. (6) For neither is the Father without the Son. For as Father, He is Father of the Son."

We also find abundant references in Clement's works

¹ In the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 8), the writer accuses Novatian of having made null and void the holy laver, and of having violated the faith and the confession pronounced before it. This letter belongs to the year A.D. 257 (*circ.*).

² The numbers in brackets are not in the original.

to a special catechesis or form of religious instruction, and an elaborate "ecclesiastical canon."¹ Is it likely that a Church which possessed such a systematized method of teaching and interpretation had no fixed formula of belief?

The fact that Clement did not quote such a formula in full is no proof that it did not exist. He naturally took for granted that the divinity students he was preparing knew their Church formularies. It should be sufficient in the case of a Professor of Theology, like Clement, to show that there are abundant references, both direct and indirect, to a confession of faith in his theological works. If such a formula did not exist, what can ἡ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὁμολογία, ἡ κοινὴ πίστις² ἡ ἐπιτομή τῆς σωτηρίας, ἡ κοινὴ διδασκαλία τῆς πίστεως and other constantly recurring expressions of a similar kind mean?

We have now to consider whether we can reconstruct a creed similar to either the Apostolic or Nicene from the writings of Clement. By way of preface we may quote Clement's declaration of the Catholic faith of one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, which occurs

¹ Which he defined as the summary of the teaching of the Law and the Prophets, harmonized with that of the Apostles and the Gospel.

² Hilary of Poitiers refers to the creed as *communis fides* (*De Syn.* 65). "Exposui communis fidei conscientiam." Rufinus also refers to the creed as *communis fides*. "Sive ergo caro secundum *communem fidem* sive corpus secundum Apostolum" (*Orig. Opp.* iv.). Tertullian also makes a similar reference.

at the close of the *Pædagogus* (iii. 311), where he makes use of these remarkable words :

" Praising and giving thanks to one only Father and the Son, Son and Father, the Son Instructor and Teacher, together with the Holy Spirit, One ¹ (*i. e.* the Trinity) in every respect, in Whom (*i. e.* the Trinity) all things exist, through Whom all things are one, through Whom eternity is, of Whom we all are members, Who is good in every respect and just in every respect, to Whom be the glory both now and evermore. Amen."

In this passage we have a strong testimony to Clement's belief in the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, the *Homousion* of the Son, and the Unity in the Trinity. We also find the following articles of belief in his different works.

1. I believe in one Father of all things.²
2. Who made all things, by the Word of His Power ³ the only almighty.⁴
3. I believe in One Word of all things,⁵ Jesus Christ our Lord,⁶ the Word of the Father,⁷ the Second Person

¹ Cf. γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστίν (*Strom.* vi. 39), being part of a quotation from *Preaching of Peter*.

² εἷς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατήρ (*Pæd.* 123).

³ ὅς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν λόγῳ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ (*Strom.* vi. 39).

⁴ τῷ μόνῳ παντοκράτορι (*Strom.* vii. 831).

⁵ εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Λόγος (*Pæd.* 123).

⁶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν (*Strom.* ii. 464).

⁷ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς (*Strom.* vii. 833). ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (*Pæd.* 124).

of the Trinity,¹ the Son of God, Our Saviour and Lord,² Without beginning,³ The only begotten, The Light⁴ of the Father,⁵ Who is One with the Father,⁶ by Whom all things were made⁷ according to the Father's Will; the fruit of the Virgin Mary,⁸ the Spirit Incarnate⁹ Who came down from heaven;¹⁰ Who for us men took upon Him suffering flesh;¹¹ Who was to suffer¹² and Who suffered¹³ the cross and death; Who preached the Gospel to those in Hades; Who rose again and was taken up into heaven;¹⁴

¹ τὸν υἱὸν δὲ δεύτερον (*Strom.* vii. 899).

² υἱὸν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ὃν ἡμεῖς φάμεν (*Strom.* vii. 832).

³ ἀναρχος ἀρχή (*Strom.* vii. 700).

⁴ ὃ τε βραβευτῆς ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (*Strom.* vii. 839).

⁵ ὃ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος Λόγος δίκην ἐπιθεῖς κριτῆς ἐστὶ (*Pæd.* i. 139).

⁶ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μόνος κριτῆς ὅτι ἀναμέμνητος μόνος (*Pæd.* i. 29).

⁷ ὅλος φῶς πατρῶον (*Strom.* vii. 831). Cf. φῶς ἐκ φῶτος of Nicene Creed.

⁸ υἷὲ καὶ πατέρ, ἐν ἁμῶ (*Pæd.* iii. 311).

⁹ δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς (*Strom.* v. 710).

¹⁰ ὃ τῆς Παρθένου καρπός (cf. *Strom.* vii. 890).

¹¹ Πνεῦμα σαρκούμενον (*Pæd.* i. 124).

¹² ἡ εἰς σάρκα κάθοδος τοῦ Κυρίου (*Strom.* v. 713).

¹³ ὃ δὲ ἡμᾶς τὴν παθητὴν ἀναλαβὼν σάρκα (*Strom.* vii. 832).

¹⁴ ἐπεὶ Λόγον ἐμήνυνεν τὸν πεισόμενον (*Pæd.* 126).

¹⁵ τῷ παθόντι (*Cohort. ad Genti.* 84).

¹⁶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κολάσεις . . . καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν (*Strom.* vi. 128, in a passage taken from the *Preaching of Peter*). He preached to those in Hades (*Strom.* vi. 762).

Who is now glorified as the Living God, and is the Judge ("Arbiter"), and is at the right hand of the Father.¹

4. And I believe in the Holy Ghost, One and the same everywhere,² the Third Person in the Trinity,³ Who is praised with the Father and the Son,⁴ Who spake through Psalmist, Prophet, and Apostle.⁵

5. I believe in one true, ancient, pure, and Catholic Church.⁶

6. I believe in the purification of Baptism, the Remission of Sins,⁷ the Resurrection of the dead,⁸ and the Life Everlasting.⁹

Again, in the literary remains of an earlier age we

¹ καὶ προσκυνουμένην θεῷ ζῶντι (*Cohort.* 84). ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς (*Pæd.* i. 99).

² καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ (*Pæd.* 123).

³ τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

⁴ αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι (*Pæd.* iii. 312).

⁵ μάρτυς διὰ Ἑσαίου τὸ Πνεῦμα (*Pæd.* 107).

τὸ Πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ λέγον (*Strom.* v. 713).

τὸ ἐν τῷ Αποστόλῳ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα λέγει (*Pæd.* i. 127).

⁶ μία δὲ μόνη γίνεται μήτηρ παρθένος· ἐκκλησίαν ἐμοὶ φίλον αὐτὴν καλεῖν (*Pæd.* 123).

μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀληθεῖ ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαίαν (*Strom.* vii. 899).

νόμφην καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν ἣν ἀγνὴν εἶναι δεῖ (*Strom.* iii. 547).

⁷ διυλιζόμενοι βαπτίσματι (*Pæd.* 6. c.).

μηκέτι λουόμενος εἰς ἁφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν (*Strom.* ii. 460).

⁸ ἀθάνατος ἄνθρωπος (*Cohort.* 84). In *Stromateis*, v. 649, he argues that the fact of the Resurrection was known to Plato and the Stoics. Cf. ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Strom.* v. 713).

⁹ ζωὴ αἰώνιος (*Strom.* ii. 458). ζωὴ παρὰ θεῷ (*Cohort.* 84).

can find traces of a *Symbolum Fidei*. In the ninth chapter of a letter of Ignatius to the Church in Tralles, written about A.D. 107, we have the following confession of faith in Christ :

1. Who was of the race of David, the son of Mary.
2. Who was verily born and did eat and drink (*i. e.* was made man).
3. Who was verily persecuted under Pontius Pilate.
4. Who was verily crucified and dead.
5. Who was verily raised from the dead, His own Father having raised him.
6. After which manner His Father will also raise up those who believe by Christ Jesus, without Whom we have no true life

From the *Didaché* of the Twelve Apostles (140 *circ.*) we have the Baptismal Formula, of which the Creed (being Trinitarian in form) was a development, expressly stated thus : " Baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in living Water."

In the recently discovered *Apology of Aristides*, assigned by Eusebius to the reign of Hadrian, but which evidently belongs to the early years of Antoninus Pius (*i. e.* not before A.D. 138), to whom the *Apology* is addressed,¹ we find the following articles of belief, which we may piece together so :

1. I believe in God the Creator and Ruler of all things.

¹ See *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge.

2. Him alone, One God we must worship and glorify.

3. I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.

4. He is the Son of the most High God, and together with the Holy Spirit was revealed to us. The Word came down from heaven, was made incarnate of the Virgin Mary, was manifested of the Holy Spirit, and having assumed human form, revealed Himself as the very Son of God.

5. He was crucified by the Hebrews.

6. He rose from the dead.

7. He ascended into heaven.

8. Judgment is to come by Him upon the race of man.

9. We must worship the Creator if we wish to inherit everlasting life.

We thus find the principal clauses of the "Apostles'" Creed in a work that belongs, at the latest, to the middle of the second century. To come now to the days of Clement; in his lifetime we can trace a growing desire among the members of the Church to have a written doctrine.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who flourished between 177 and 202 A.D., and was thus a contemporary of Clement's, gives us a written form of creed. In his work against the Heresies¹ (l. iv. p. 272) he says, "The disciple must have a sound faith in One God Almighty, of whom are all things, and in the Son of God, Jesus

¹ See also I. cap. iv. of same work.

Christ our Lord, by whom are all things,¹ and in His dispensations by which the Son of God became man ; also he must have a firm trust in the spirit of God, who later set forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son dwelling with each successive race of men as the Father willed."

Cyprian (*circa* 250 A.D.) gives us a form of the North African creed. From his Epistle to his son Magnus, we gather that that creed consisted in the belief in the Trinity and the fact of the remission of sins and eternal life through the Holy Church. This last article of faith Cyprian advises the orthodox to put as a test to the Novatians.

We have thus shown from three distinct lines of proof, first from reference to such a formula in his own works ; secondly, from the fact that we can reconstruct a creed resembling the Nicene and Apostolic Creeds from his writings ; and thirdly, from the numerous traces of a fixed formula before, during, and immediately after his lifetime, that it is highly probable that the Church of Alexandria was furnished with a confession of faith in the days of Clement, and that the *onus probandi* lies on those who assert the contrary.

We shall now proceed to quote some beautiful passages on the Eucharist, which establish the fact that this Sacrament was correctly understood and explained by Clement.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

THE EUCHARIST.

Clement's principal utterance on the subject of the Eucharist is to be found in the second Book of the *Paedagogus*, paragraph 177 (Potter's edition), where we read—"The blood of our Lord is twofold in nature; the carnal is that by which we are redeemed from corruption, and the spiritual is that by which we are anointed. To drink the blood of Jesus is to partake of the incorruption of our Lord. The Spirit is the virtue of the Word, as the blood is the strength of the flesh. As wine is mingled with water, so man is mingled with the Spirit. One mixture is a banquet for faith, the other is a path to immortality. The mixture of wine and the Spirit, *i.e.* of what is drunk and the Word, is called Eucharist, which is a laudable and beautiful grace, sanctifying the body and soul of those who receive it by faith. It is the will of the Father moving in a mysterious way, that forms this divine union of man, the Holy Spirit and the Word. Thus the Spirit is truly united to the soul, which is borne along by it and the flesh, on account of which 'the Word became flesh' is united to the Word."

Clement, seeing in this sacrament a means of drawing nearer to the Word of life, seems to have concluded that the principle of immortality is conferred on us by the partaking of this memorial of Him Who sustains us unto the undying life.

He also read in our Saviour's references to the Vine an allusion to His own blood. "He showed," he remarks, "that what He blessed was wine by saying, 'I shall not drink of the fruit of this vine until I drink it with you in the kingdom of My Father.'" Again he says, "Christ blessed the wine," meaning the Word Who was poured out for many; the sacred stream of gladness. Clement extended this interpretation to the Old Testament, especially to the passage "Binding his foal to the vine" (Genesis xlix. 11), which he thought meant binding a simple and infant people to the Word. In another passage he says, "The vine gives wine and the Word gives blood; both are drunk unto salvation, the wine bodily, but the blood spiritually." When commenting on the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel he said, "The flesh and blood of the Word is the knowledge of the Divine power and essence," thus preventing any material interpretation of his own words.

In Clement's different treatises there are many passing allusions to those who celebrated the Eucharist with mere water—probably the Encratites,—to those who allowed the people to help themselves to the consecrated elements, and to others who abused the privileges of the love-feast, which was connected with the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the early years of the Church—facts which speak loudly of the disorder that prevailed in those days through that

slackness of discipline which is by some regarded as one of the advantages of private judgment.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF SACRAMENTAL TEACHING.

It is needless to remark, that Clement, insisting as he always does on the continual presence of Christ in the world, and in humanity, did not confound the signs of grace with that grace itself. No more could he regard the grace of God as a kind of fourth person attached to the Holy Trinity. To him the sacraments were symbols of great spiritual processes, signs of an actual sustenance and an actual purification.

In this view of the sacraments Clement is followed by those who believe that there is a real objective presence of Christ, Who purifies the soul of the babe when it is duly baptized in the water, and Who feeds the soul of the faithful with His own life at the Holy Communion, and yet do not believe in transubstantiation, or the change of the elements into the natural body and blood of Christ.

In several passages Clement speaks of the sacrifice of praise, prayer, and thanksgiving. In the *Stromateis* (vii. 6) we read as follows: "The sacrifice of the Church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole mind being at the same time revealed to God. The pagans regarded the ancient altar at Delos as holy. This was the only

one Pythagoras visited, because it alone was not polluted by blood and death. And yet they will not believe us when we assert that the righteous soul is the really sacred altar, and that the incense that arises therefrom is holy prayer"¹

And again he writes : " If God needs nothing, and delights in our homage, it is very reasonable that we honour Him in prayer. This is the best and holiest sacrifice, when we offer it with righteousness. And the altar is the congregation of those who give themselves to prayer with one voice and one mind."

In the seventh Book of the *Stromateis* (p. 861) we read : " Prayers and praises and the readings of scripture before meals are *sacrifices* to Him."

And again : " The humble heart with right knowledge is the holocaust to God. We glorify Him Who sacrificed Himself for us, we also sacrificing ourselves" (*Strom.* vii. 836).

This is indeed a fit quotation, fit because so expressive of the character of the man, with which to conclude this very imperfect review of the life and teaching of one of the saintliest men who ever trod God's earth, the first and greatest apostle of the Greek Theology, the spiritual father of Origen,

¹ Clement's theory that sacrifices were invented by man as an excuse for eating flesh has the freshness of originality.

Ζαρκοφαγιῶν δ' οἶμαι προφάσει αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκινεῖσθαι (*Strom.* vii. 849).

Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories ; and one of whom the late Mr. Maurice truly said : "He seems to me one of the old fathers whom we all should have revered most as a teacher and loved as a friend."

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